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ON
ENGLISH CHURCH
HISTORY

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Illustrated Notes on English Church History

FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES TO THE REFORMATION

AND

MODERN CHURCH WORK

[VOLS. I. AND II.]

BY THE

REV. C. ARTHUR LANE

F.R. Hist. S., Author of "Church and Realm in Stuart Times,"

"Descriptive Lantern Lectures on English Church History,"

"Lectures on the Life of Queen Victoria," etc.

REVISED EDITION

COMPLETING OVER TWO HUNDRED THOUSAND VOLUMES

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THE RUINS OF WHITBY ABBEY (see page 76).

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PREFACE

THE first half of these "Notes" was originally published in 1886. The second half followed in 1888. The present revised edition brings up the number printed to *two hundred thousand volumes*, and it is gratifying to know that they are circulated and appreciated in the remotest regions where the Church of England has its outposts.

The title explains itself. The work is not an exhaustive history, but a collection of notes thereon, to meet inquiries for a cheap illustrated book about the Church of England. Church histories hitherto have mostly been written for students, or are beyond the financial reach of the general public. Such popular handy volumes as bear upon the subject deal mainly with special aspects, or do not afford so clear an idea of its consecutiveness as will enable the majority of Church-goers to meet erroneous assertions of those who differ from the doctrines of, or envy the noble position occupied by the English Church.

To place a connected series of historical facts before the public, at a price within the reach of the humblest, was the chief object of the author. At the same time readers are warned not to expect herein a complete record of all the important events and persons connected with our Church in every age, but only to look for sufficient typical examples as will help them to judge for themselves of the incorrectness of theories recently advanced by modern adversaries of the English Church ; as for instance— (1) That it is of comparatively recent origin ; or (2) that it owes its existence, position, and emoluments to the favour of the civil government ; or (3) that whatever of its history belongs to antiquity is traceable to its connexion with and subjection to the Church of Rome.

The main plan has been to give prominence to the concurrent history of the Church and Realm ; to show that through all ages they have been indissolubly wedded ; and to present the Church's ancient, mediæval, and modern history as parts of one continuous whole, with the episcopate for its basis. The history of the Anglican Church beyond the seas is outside the plan, and is therefore only incidentally treated. The "Notes" are divided into two small volumes for the sake of ease in handling, but, as will be seen from the paging, each volume should be considered as only half of one book.

Apart from the question of cheapness, it may well be doubted whether there is any necessity for treating the history of the Church of England anew ; especially as there is nothing stated herein which has not been better said over and over again. Although no new light has been thrown upon a well-worn subject by these pages, they may help to diffuse the old light. Nothing has been stated which has not been generally accepted as true, or which is not useful to know ; and if the grouping of certain facts varies at times from the customary methods, it is never without good reason.

Possibly no two minds would draw identical conclusions from the vast range of history covered herein, and whatever may be said on controverted points there are sure to be some who would prefer a different view. That such will question the writer's treatment or selection of events and persons is fully expected ; and lest any readers should feel aggrieved because the errors of the Church of Rome are not expressly denounced, or that insufficient credit has been given to the conscientious convictions of nonconformists, it may be well to state at the outset that these pages do not profess to discuss opinions or theories on matters of faith ; but simply to state, and occasionally comment upon, such ascertained facts of ecclesiastical history as may help the general public to a better understanding of what is meant by the national Church. Party names which have come to be used as terms of opprobrium, are as far as possible avoided in the following pages ; and although the writer does not pretend to look at matters from other than a Churchman's standpoint, he believes that he has not

dealt unfairly or inconsiderately by those who are opposed to the Church of England. When reference is made to their religious systems, it is with a view of showing the external position occupied by the Church towards them in the past, and there is no intention of implying unkind reflections upon modern adherents of papal or puritan beliefs.

Up to the Norman conquest the history of the Church and the history of the people are so closely interwoven that it is impossible to separate them. That is because our knowledge of what occurred in early times has been derived almost exclusively from the writings of ecclesiastics, the religious houses being for ages the sole depositories of literature and science. Until the days of King Alfred it was an exceptional occurrence to find the nobility or princes devoting themselves to peaceful arts or intellectual acquirements; those who felt so inclined invariably left the world behind them and joined some monastic community, although they may have stopped short of the higher ministerial orders. Books written under such auspices were more dependent on traditional stories and more associated with superstitious improbabilities than we should expect to find in impartial histories; yet we may easily eliminate the superstitious or unauthentic parts, retaining the portions which commend themselves to common sense, and so glean a tolerably concise, continuous, and reliable record.

The life of the Church in our land divides itself naturally into several distinct epochs, or definite periods of time—

- I. *The era of Conversion*—first, when the earliest known inhabitants of our country, governed by agents of the Cæsars, became Christians; and secondly, when Anglo-Saxon settlers were in turn made converts.
- II. *The era of Consolidation*—when Celtic, Anglo-Saxon, and Danish tribes, having first received the one Faith, were organized into a national Church, and, through ecclesiastical statesmen, brought under one civil ruler.
- III. *The era of Oppression*—when the land was ruled by Norman and Plantagenet kings, and the Church became subject to papal influence through their rule.

- IV. *The era of Patriotism*, commonly known as “The Reformation” under the Tudor dynasty—during which both Church and Realm resumed their ancient national independence.
- V. *The era of Party strife*—during the troublous times of the Stuarts, when conflicting religious sects threatened to overwhelm the old Church, which ended at the Revolution. And lastly,
- VI. *The era of Progression*—during which the Church has tried to meet the great demands made upon its resources, and presented to the world a glorious front.

Throughout all those periods, exceeding 1800 years, we are able to trace the apostolic form of Church government in England, by the three orders of bishops, priests, and deacons claiming descent from the primitive Church; and we can also perceive with equal clearness a similar antiquity and continuity of doctrine, by means of liturgies in constant use. Only in minor points of discipline and ceremonial has the Church in Britain materially differed from the rest of Christendom, such differences being caused by varying needs, consequent upon the civil changes our land has passed through when new races of men made it their home, and so modified the character of its inhabitants.

It is hoped that many may be led by the perusal of the following pages to study particular epochs and biographies more in detail. Happily there is now no lack of suitable books; and the clergy are at all times ready to recommend such to their parishioners and pupils. The chief change made in this edition is the combination of both chronological tables at the beginning of the first volume, and a complete index at the end of the second; so as to facilitate references.





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	Vodinus		Morfael	
	Theonus		Haerwnen	
	See suppressed about A.D. 550		Elwaed	
	SEE OF CANTERBURY	SEE OF LONDON	Gwrnwen	
Supremacy of Kent.	Augustine 597	Temporarily revived by Mellitus, 603, who fled in 615	Llunwerth	
—	Laurentius 604	—	Gwrgwyst	
Supremacy of Northumbria.	Mellitus 619	—	Gwgan	
—	Justus 624	—	Eineon	
	Honorius 627	Permanently founded by Cedd 656	Clydawg	
	Deusedit 655	Wini 666	Elfod	
	Theodore 668	Eareonauld 674	Ethelman	
	(The first primate)	Waldheri 698	Elanc	
	Berhtwald 698	Ingwald 715	Maelsgwyd	
	Tatwin 731	Ecgwulf 746	Made	
	Notheln 735	Wighed 754	Cadell	
Supremacy of Mercia.	Cuthbert 740	Eadbright 761	Sadwrnfen	
—	Bregwin 759	Eadgar 768	Novis	
	Lamberht 766	Cænwalch 773	Sulhaithnay	
	Ethelhard 793	Eadbald 784	Idwal	
	Wufred 805	Heathobert 795	Asser	
		Osmund 813	Arthwael	
Egbert 827	Theogild 822	Ahelnoth 835	? Samson	
Ethelwulf 839	Ceolnoth 833	Ceolberht 888	Ruelin	
{ Ethelbald 858		Deorulfa 854	Rhydderch	
{ Ethelbert 858		Suithulf 863	Elwin	
Ethelred 866		Ealhstan 870	878 Morbiw	
Alfred 871	Ethelred 871	Wulfsgie 870	886 Llunwerth	
Edward I. 901	Phlegmund 890	Ethelward 878	900 Hubert	
Athelstan 925	Atheln 915	Eadstan 886	922 Eneuris	
Edmund I. 940	Wulfhelm 924	Theodred 900	941 Ivor	
Edred 943	Odo 934	Wulstan 922	958 Morgeneu	
Edwy 955		Brithelm 941	960	
Edgar 958	Alfsia 959	Dunstan 958	Nathan	
Edward II. 975	Dunstan 960	Alfstán 960	961	
Ethelred 997	Ethelgar 988		Jeanan	
	Sigeric 990		Arwystl	
	Elfric 995		Morgeneu	
Edmund II. 1016	Elphege 1006	Wulfstan 981	1016 Ervin	
Canute 1017	Leovingus 1018	Aelfun 1004	1023	
Harold I. 1035	Ethelnoth 1020	Aelfwy 1016	1032 Trahaearn	
Hardicanute 1040	Eadsius 1038	Alfword 1032	1044 Joseph	
Edward III. 1042	Robert 1051	Robert 1044	1055	
	Stigand 1052	William 1051	Bleiddud	
Harold II. 1066			1061	

THE PRIMACY OF IRELAND.		THE NORTHERN PRIMACY.		NOTABLE BISHOPS OF ROME.	
		There were primates of York from very early times. One of them, named Eborius, with Restitutus of London and Adelphius of Caerleon, attended the council of Arles in A.D. 314, and the see continued to flourish until the English invasion, when it came to an end.		LINUS, bishop of Rome, A.D. 58, is traditionally identified with the Briton Llin. There were 10 bishops of Rome between him and ELEUTHIUS (A.D. 177—192), 19 between him and SYLVESTER (314—335), 10 bishops and two rival claimants to the see between Sylvester and CELESTINE (423—432), and 20 bishops with one rival between Celestine and GREGORY THE GREAT, who ruled from 590—604. HONORIUS I. (626—640) was sixth in succession to Gregory VITALIAN, 658—672, sixth from Honorius. Adeodatus 672 Domnus 676 Agatho 679 Leo II. 682 Benedict II. 684 John V. 685 Conon 686 Sergius and rival 687 Twelve more occupants bring us to LEO III., 795—816. 16 others came between him and LEO V. (903—905), when there was a fifth rival. There were 10 bishops of Rome from Leo V. to AGAPETUS II., 946—955 John XII. 956 Leo VIII. 963 (to whom a council opposed Benedict V.) John XIII. 965 Benedict VI. 972 (who also had a rival) Dominus II. 974 Benedict VII. 975 John XIV. 984 John XV. 986 the see, and an eighth anti-pope, bring us to Alexander II. 1061	
St. Patrick	445				
St. Beren	455				
St. Jarlath	465				
Cormac	482				
Dubtach I.	497	Paulinus temporarily revived the see in A.D. 627, but he was driven southward in 634 through war.			
Ailill I.	513				
Ailill II.	526				
Dubtach II.	536	When King Oswald invited missionaries from Iona in 635 the bishopric was placed at Lindisfarne.			
David	548				
Feidlimid	551				
Cairlan	578	Aidan (first bishop)		635	
Eschaid	588	Finan (second bishop)		651	
Senach	598	Colman (third bishop)		662	
Mac Laisre	610	See divided into			
Thomian	623	YORK.	LINDISFARNE.		
Segene	661	Wilfrid I.	664	Tuda	664
Flan Febla	688	Chad	666	Eata	678
Suibne	715	Wilfrid (restored)	669	Cuthbert	685
Congusa	730	Bosa	678	Eadberct	688
Celepeter	750	Wilfrid (restored)	686	Eadfrid	698
Fredachry	758	Bosa (restored)	691		
Foendelach	768	John of Beverley	705	Ethelwold	724
Dubdalethy I.	778	Wilfrid II.	718	Cyneulf	740
Assiat	793	Egbert	732		
Cudiniscus	794	(The first primate)		Higbald	780
Conmac	798	Albert	766		
Torbach	807	Eanbald I.	782		
Nuad	808	Eanbald II.	796		
Flangus	812				
Artrigius	822	Wulsy	812	Ecgberht	802
Eugene I.	833			Heathured	819
Farannan	834			Ecgred	828
Dermod	818	Wigmund	837		
Factna	852			Eanbert	846
Ainmire	872	Wulfhere	854	Eardulf	854
Cathasach I.	875			<i>who removed to</i>	
Maelcob	883			CHESTER-LE-ST.	882
Maelbrigid	885	Ethelbald	895	Cutheard	900
				Tilred	915
Joseph	927	Redwald	928	Wilfred	928
Maelpatrick	936	Wulstan I.	931	Uchtred	944
Cathasach II.	937			Sexhelme	945
		Oskytel	956	Aldred	946
Muirlach	957	Ethelwold	972	Elfsig	968
Dubdalethy II.	966	Oswald	972	Aldhun	990
Murechan	998	Adulph	993	<i>who removed to</i>	
Maelmury	1001	Wulstan II.	1002	DURHAM	995
				Eadmund	1021
Amalgaid	1021	Afrie Puttoc	1023	Eadreic	1041
Dubdalethy III.	1050	Kinsius	1051	Egelric	1042
Cunnsach	1065	Aldred	1060	Egelwin	1056

KINGS OF ENGLAND.		ARCHBISHOPS OF CANTERBURY.		BISHOPS OF LONDON.		BISHOPS OF ST. DAVIDS.	
William I.	1066	Lanfranc	1070	H. de Orivalle	1075	Sulien	1071
William II.	1087			Maurice	1085	Abraham	1076
Henry I.	1100	Anselm	1093			Rhyddmarch	1088
		R. d'Escures	1114	R. de Beaumes	1108	Griffry	1096
		W. de Corbeuil	1123	Gilbert	1128	Bernard	1115
Stephen	1135	Theobald	1139	Re de Sigillo	1141		
						D. Fitzgerald	1147
Henry II.	1154			R. de Beaumes	1152		
		T. à Becket	1162	G. Foliot	1163		
		Richard	1174			P. de Leia	1176
		Baldwin	1185				
Richard I.	1189			R. de Ely	1189		
		R. Fitzwalter	1193	W. Marychurch	1199		
John	1199					G. de Henelawe	1203
		S. Langton	1207			Jowerth	1215
Henry III.	1216			E. de Fauconberg	1221		
		R. Grant	1229	R. le Noir	1229	A. le Gross	1230
		E. Rich	1234				
		Boniface	1245	Fulk Basset	1242		
				H. de Wingham	1259	R. de Carew	1256
				H. de Sandwich	1263		
Edward I.	1272	R. Kilwardby	1273	J. de Chishul	1274		
		J. Peckham	1279	R. de Gravesend	1280	T. Bech	1280
		R. Winchelsey	1294			D. Martin	1296
Edward II.	1307	W. Reynolds	1313	R. de Baldock	1306		
				G. de Seagrave	1313		
Edward III.	1327			R. de Newport	1317		
		S. Meophan	1328	S. de Gravesend	1319	H. de Gower	1328
		J. Stratford	1333	R. de Bentworth	1338	J. Thoresby	1347
		T. Bradwardine	1349	R. de Stratford	1340	R. Brian	1350
		S. Islip	1349	M. de Northburg	1354	F. Fastolfe	1353
		S. Langham	1366	S. Sudbury	1362	H. Houghton	1361
		W. Wittlesey	1368	W. Courtenay	1375		
Richard II.	1377	S. Sudbury	1375	R. de Braybroke	1381	J. Gilbert	1389
		W. Courtenay	1381	R. Walden	1405	G. Mone	1397
Henry IV.	1399	T. Arundel	1396	N. Bubbewyth	1406	H. Chicheley	1408
				R. Clifford	1407	J. Catterick	1414
Henry V.	1413	H. Chichely	1414	J. Kempe	1422	S. Patrington	1415
				W. Grey	1426	B. Nicholls	1418
Henry VI.	1422			R. Fitzhugh	1431	T. Rodburn	1433
		J. Stafford	1443			W. Lyndwood	1442
				R. Gilbert	1436	J. Langton	1447
		J. Kemp	1452			J. Delavere	1447
Edward IV.	1461	T. Bouchier	1454	T. Kemp	1459	R. Tully	1460
Edward V.	1483					R. Martin	1482
Richard III.	1483					T. Langton	1483

ARCHBISHOPS OF ARMAGH.		ARCHBISHOPS OF YORK.		BISHOPS OF DURHAM.		POPES OF ROME.	
Maclisa	1065	Thomas I.	1070	Walchere	1071	Gregory VII.	1073
				W. Carileph	1080	Victor III.	1086
Donald	1092	Gerard	1100	R. Flambard	1099	Urban II.	1088
Celsus	1106	Thomas II.	1109	G. Rufts	1133	Pascal II.	1099
		Thurstan	1114			Gelasius II.	1118
Maurice	1129					Calixtus II.	1119
Malachy	1134					Honorius II.	1124
Gelasius	1137	William	1144	W. de S. Barbara	1143	Innocent II.	1130
		H. Murdoch	1147			Celestine II.	1143
						Lucius II.	1144
		William (rest.)	1153			Eugenius III.	1145
		R. Pont l'Eveq	1154	H. Pudsey	1153	Anastasius IV.	1153
Cornelius	1174					Adrian IV.	1154
Gilbert	1175					Alexander III.	1159
Maclisa II.	1184					Lucius III.	1181
Amlave	1184					Urban III.	1185
T. O'Connor	1185					Gregory VIII.	1187
		G. Plantagenet	1191	Ph. of Poitiers	1197	Clement III.	1187
Eugene	1206					Celestine III.	1191
L. Nettersil	1220	W. de Grey	1216	R. de Marisco	1217	Innocent III.	1198
Donat	1227			R. Poor	1228	Honorius III.	1216
Albert	1240			N. de Farnham	1241	Gregory IX.	1227
Reiner	1247			W. de Kirkham	1249	Celestine IV.	1241
		S. de Bovil	1256			Innocent IV.	1243
A. O'Connellan	1257	G. de Ludham	1258	R. Stichell	1260	Alexander IV.	1254
P. O'Scanlan	1261	W. Giffard	1266			Urban IV.	1261
						Clement IV.	1265
W. MacMolissa	1272			R. de Insula	1274	Gregory X.	1271
						Innocent V.	1276
						Adrian V.	1276
						John XX.	1276
		W. Wickwaine	1279			Nicholas III.	1277
						Martin IV.	1281
		J. Romanus	1286	A. de Bek	1283	Honorius IV.	1285
		H. de Newark	1296			Nicholas IV.	1288
J. Taafe	1305	T. de Corbridge	1300			Celestine V.	1292
W. de Jorse	1306	W. Greenfield	1304			Boniface VIII.	1294
R. de Jorse	1311					Benedict X.	1303
S. Seagrave	1322	W. de Melton	1316	R. Kellaw	1311	Clement V.	1305
				L. Beaumont	1318	John XXI.	1316
D. O'Hiraghty	1334	W. la Zouche	1342	R. Greystones	1333	Benedict XI.	1334
R. Fitzralph	1347			Thos. Hatfield	1345	Clement VI.	1342
		J. Thoresby	1352			Innocent VI.	1352
M. Sweetman	1361	A. de Neville	1374			Urban V.	1362
						Gregory XI.	1370
		T. Arundel	1388	John Fordham	1382	Urban VI †	1378
J. Colton	1382	R. Waldby	1396	W. Skirlawe	1388	Boniface IX.	1389
		R. Scrope	1398			Benedict XII.	1394
N. Fleming	1404			T. Langley	1406	Innocent VII.	1404
		H. Bowet	1407			3 Rivals	1406-1417
J. Swayn	1417					Martin V.	1417
		J. Kemp	1426	R. Neville	1438	Eugenius IV.	1431
J. Prene	1439					Nicholas V.	1447
J. Mey	1444	W. Booth	1452			Calixtus III.	1447
J. Bole	1457			L. Booth	1457	Pius II.	1458
J. Foxall	1475	G. Neville	1465			Paul II.	1464
E. Connesburgh	1477	L. Booth	1476	W. Dudley	1476	Sixtus IV.	1471
O. de Palatis	1480	T. Rotherham	1480			Innocent VIII.	1484

CIVIL RULERS.		ARCHBISHOPS OF CANTERBURY.		BISHOPS OF LONDON.		BISHOPS OF ST. DAVIDS.	
16th century.	Henry VII. 1485	J. Morton	1486	R. Hill	1489	H. Parry	1485
		H. Dene	1502	T. Savage	1496	J. Morgan	1496
		W. Wareham	1503	W. Wareham	1502	R. Sherborne	1505
	Henry VIII. 1509			R. Fitzjames	1506		
		T. Cranmer	1533	C. Tunstall	1522	E. Vaughan	1509
	Edward VI. 1547			J. Stokesley	1530	R. Rawlings	1523
	Mary 1553	R. Pole	1546	E. Bonner (dep.)	1539	W. Barlow	1536
	Elizabeth 1558	M. Parker	1559	N. Ridley	1550	R. Ferrar	1548
				E. Bonner (rest.)	1553	H. Morgan	1554
		E. Grindall	1575	E. Grindall	1559	T. Young	1560
17th century.		J. Whitgift	1583	E. Sandys	1570	R. Davies	1561
				J. Aylmer	1577	M. Middleton	1582
				R. Fletcher	1595		
				R. Bancroft	1597	A. Rudd	1594
	James I. 1603	R. Bancroft	1604	R. Vaughan	1604		
		G. Abbott	1610	T. Ravis	1607		
				G. Abbott	1609	R. Milburn	1615
	Charles I. 1625	W. Laud	1633	J. King	1611	W. Laud	1621
	Charles II. 1649			G. Montaigne	1621	T. Field	1627
	Restored 1660	W. Juxon	1660	W. Laud	1628	R. Mainwaring	1636
18th century.		G. Sheldon	1663	W. Juxon	1633	W. Lucy	1660
		W. Sancroft	1677	G. Sheldon	1660		
	James II. 1685			H. Henchman	1663	W. Thomas	1678
				H. Compton	1675	L. Wormack	1683
	William III. 1689	J. Tillotson	1691			J. Lloyd	1686
		T. Tenison	1695			T. Watson	1687
	Anne 1702					G. Bull	1695
	George I. 1714	W. Wake	1715	J. Robinson	1714	P. Bisse	1710
				E. Gibson	1723	A. Ottley	1713
	George II. 1727	J. Potter	1736			R. Smallbrook	1724
19th century.		T. Herring	1747			E. Sydall	1731
		M. Hutton	1757	T. Sherlock	1748	N. Claggett	1732
		T. Secker	1758			E. Willes	1743
	George III. 1760					R. Trevor	1744
		F. Cornwallis	1768	T. Hayter	1761	A. Ellis	1752
				R. Osbaldeston	1762	S. Squire	1761
		J. Moore	1783	R. Terrick	1764	R. Lowth	1766
		C. M. Sutton	1805	R. Lowth	1777	C. Moss	1766
	George IV. 1820	W. Howley	1828			J. Yorke	1774
	William IV. 1830			J. Randolph	1809	J. Warren	1779
	Victoria 1837	J. B. Sumner	1848	W. Howley	1813	E. Smallwell	1783
		C. T. Longley	1862	C. J. Blomfield	1828	S. Horsley	1788
		A. C. Tait	1868			W. Stuart	1794
		E. W. Benson	1883	J. Jackson	1869	G. Murray	1800
		F. Temple	1897	F. Temple	1885	T. Burgess	1803
				M. Creighton	1897	J. B. Jenkinson	1825
						C. Shirwall	1840
						W. B. Jones	1874
						J. Owen	1897

ARCHBISHOPS OF ARMAGH.		ARCHBISHOPS OF YORK.		BISHOPS OF DURHAM.		POPES OF ROME.	
O. de Palatis	1480	T. Rotherham	1480	J. Shirwood	1485	Innocent VIII.	1484
		T. Savage	1501	R. Fox	1494	Alexander VI.	1492
				W. Sever	1502	Pius III.	1503
				C. Bainbridge	1507	Julius II.	1503
J. Kite	1513	C. Bainbrigg	1508	T. Ruthall	1509	Leo X.	1513
G. Cromer	1522	T. Wolsey	1514	T. Wolsey	1523	Adrian VI.	1522
G. Dowdall	1543	E. Lee	1531	C. Tunstall	1530	Clement VII.	1523
H. Goodacre	1552	R. Holgate	1545			Paul III.	1534
						Julius III.	1550
						Marcellus II.	1555
A. Loftus	1562	N. Heath	1555	J. Pilkington	1561	Paul IV.	1555
T. Lancaster	1568	T. Young	1561			Pius IV.	1559
J. Long	1584	E. Grindall	1570	R. Barnes	1577	Pius V.	1566
		E. Sandys	1577			Gregory XIII.	1572
J. Garvey	1589	J. Piers	1589	M. Hutton	1589	Sixtus V.	1585
						Urban VII.	1590
H. Ussher	1595	M. Hutton	1595	T. Matthew	1595	Gregory XIV.	1590
						Innocent IX.	1591
						Clement VIII.	1592
						Leo XI.	1605
						Paul V.	1605
C. Hampton	1613	T. Matthew	1606	W. James	1606	Gregory XV.	1621
J. Ussher	1624			R. Neile	1617	Urban VIII.	1623
		G. Montaigne	1628	G. Montaigne	1628		
		S. Harsnet	1629	J. Howson	1628		
		R. Neile	1632	T. Morton	1632	Innocent X.	1644
		J. Williams	1641			Alexander VII.	1655
J. Bramhall	1660	A. Frewen	1660	J. Cousin	1660		
J. Margetson	1663	R. Sterne	1664	N. Crewe	1674	Clement IX.	1667
M. Boyle	1678					Clement X.	1670
		J. Dolben	1683			Innocent XI.	1676
		T. Lamplugh	1688				
		J. Sharpe	1691			Alexander VIII.	1689
						Innocent XII.	1691
N. Marsh	1702					Clement XI.	1700
T. Lindsay	1713					Innocent XIII.	1721
		W. Dawes	1714	W. Talbot	1722		
H. Boulter	1724					Benedict XIII.	1724
		L. Blackburn	1724	E. Chandler	1730	Clement XII.	1730
J. Hoadley	1742	T. Herring	1743			Benedict XIV.	1740
G. Stone	1746	M. Hutton	1747	J. Butler	1750		
		J. Gilbert	1757	R. Trevor	1752	Clement XIII.	1758
R. Robinson	1765	R. H. Drummond	1761			Clement XIV.	1769
		W. Markham	1777	J. Egerton	1771	Pius VI.	1775
W. Newcombe	1795			T. Thurlow	1787		
W. Stewart	1800			S. Barrington	1791		
						Pius VII.	1806
		E. V. V. Harcourt	1808				
J. G. Beresford	1822			W. Van Mildert	1826	Leo XII.	1823
						Pius VIII.	1829
						Gregory XVI.	1831
M. G. Beresford	1862	T. Musgrave	1847	E. Maltby	1836		
				C. T. Longley	1856	Pius IX.	1846
				H. M. Villiers	1860		
		C. T. Longley	1860	C. Baring	1861		
		W. Thompson	1863	J. B. Lightfoot	1879	Leo XIII.	1877
R. Knox	1886	W. D. MacLagan	1891	B. F. Wescott	1890		
W. Alexander	1895						

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With respect to the illustrations, it is right to mention that about a fourth of the woodcuts in these two volumes have previously appeared in other publications of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. About thirty have been supplied by Messrs. Virtue and Co., and most of the remainder by Messrs. Cassell and Co. The portrait of Dr. Pusey on page 529 and that of Archbishop Benson on page 564 are from photographs by Mr. S. A. Walker, Regent St. The illustration on page 151 is from a photograph by Messrs. Valentine and Co., Dundee. Those on pages 23 and 61 are from photographs by Chester Vaughan, Acton, W. To one and all the author begs to tender hearty thanks for their kind and ready co-operation.

ILLUSTRATED NOTES ON ENGLISH CHURCH HISTORY

PART I

The Era of Conversion

CHAPTER I. (A.D. 33-274)

THE ORIGIN OF BRITISH CHRISTIANITY

“The Julian spear

A way first opened: and, with Roman chains,
The tidings come of Jesus crucified.

Lament! for Diocletian's fiery sword
Works busy as the lightning.”¹

1. Terminology.—Do we always know what we mean when we speak of the *Church of England*? There should not be any difficulty in understanding by the word *Church*, when used in this connexion, that Divine society which the Saviour came on earth to reorganize, and which commenced its appointed task of evangelizing the world after the Pentecostal inspiration. By the word *England* we usually and rightly understand the territory that is geographically so called, but many persons in speaking or writing of the English Church have limited the application of the geographical term to the English *race*—that is to say, to the descendants of the Anglo-Saxon tribes who commenced to occupy Britain in the middle of the fifth century. There was, however, a flourishing and well-organized Christian community here centuries before that invasion, and one object of these pages will be to show that this older Church became so merged into the Anglo-Saxon Christianity which originated in the seventh century, that each may fairly claim a share in the other's history. If this

¹ The poetical headings to each chapter are from Wordsworth's sonnets.
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process of absorption be proved, the continuity of the apostolic Church in this land becomes indisputable. The Anglo-Saxon or *Teutonic* tribes have for so long been the dominant race that they have habitually treated the *Celtic* tribes with more or less of neglect. But the Celtic tribes are still preserved among us, their languages also ; they are easily distinguishable as separate peoples, even though some of their descendants in every generation have married with the descendants of their conquerors ; and they must not be left out of account when we consider the history of the faith which bids us recognize all nations in an universal brotherhood. Our country is still called *Britain*, *Great Britain*, or *Britannia*, words that are much more comprehensive than *England*, and it is in this wider sense that we are to understand the latter word when it is used to distinguish the English branch of the Catholic Church. When then, and how, was the Christian society first planted and established in Britain ?

2. Profane history and religion.—Although the ancient inhabitants had a written language, no books by which we might be assisted in our inquiry have been preserved to us ; but from oral traditions, collected and published after the Norman conquest, together with such records as Roman historians compiled from time to time, we are enabled to give a very intelligible answer to the question. The ancient world was not unfamiliar with our island. An eminent explorer named *Pythias*, who lived in the time of *Alexander the Great*, B.C. 330, made two voyages of discovery to Britain, and reported upon its agricultural resources, as well as the domestic customs of the inhabitants. Coins have been dug up in different parts of the country similar to the Greek coins of Alexander, which point to a commercial intercourse between Britain and his country. Such knowledge and communication may account for the war of conquest undertaken against the Britons by *Julius Cæsar* at the head of an immense army, B.C. 55. That renowned general always wrote an account of his expeditions, and in his book on the Gallic wars he minutely describes the religion and habits of the ancient Britons. He tells us that they were governed by their religious teachers, the *Druids* ; who appear to have been a separate caste with peculiar privileges, the instructors of youth, and the arbitrators in all disputes. The druidical religion is said to have comprised belief in a supreme deity, and the immortality and transmigration of souls ; but the

number of classical deities mentioned by Julius Cæsar shows that they worshipped a plurality of lesser divinities besides. They sacrificed in open-air temples, surrounded either by groves of oak trees, or circles of immense stones similar to those still seen at Avebury, Stonehenge, and Carnoc. On great occasions human victims were offered as vicarious propitiatory sacrifices. The elements of fire, earth and water, vegetation, etc., were additional objects of their veneration. The details of that intricate religious system were only transmitted orally to such persons as had undergone a long period of initiation, and even then under the strictest seal of secrecy. We are further told that the Britons were an agricultural as well as a trading community, but inadequately sheltered, clothed in skins, and tattooed.



RUINS AT STONEHENGE.

There is abundant evidence of their bravery in war, although their weapons were of the rudest kind. The knowledge Julius Cæsar acquired of Britain was confined to the tribes inhabiting its southern seaboard, but there appears to have been a still more barbarous people, inhabiting the north and west and the adjacent islands, who had settled there centuries before the arrival of the Celtic tribes.

3. The conquest by Claudius.—Still more important for our purpose is the subsequent invasion of Britain by *Claudius Cæsar* in the year of our Lord 43. That was the commencement of a series of terrible wars between the Britons and Romans which did not cease

until A.D. 84, when the whole territory, now called England and Wales, with so much of Scotland as lies south of the rivers Clyde and Forth, became a Roman province ruled by Roman governors, visited by Roman emperors, colonized by Roman citizens, and kept in order by the Roman legions. Claudius expelled the Druids, who fled to the isle of *Anglesea*, and set up the elaborate worship of the Roman gods. Soon a network of roads opened up the country for traffic, stately palaces and villas studded the land, cities and garrison towns were built in important centres, remains of which are found to this day. In short, Britain became almost as civilized and cultured as any other part of the Roman empire, and so continued for 300 years.



THE PANTHEON AT ROME.

4. Britons in Rome.—How do such events affect the introduction of Christianity to Britain? In this way :—There was necessarily constant communication between the chief towns of Britain and the

great imperial city of *Rome*, the chief highways being through Gaul (France) by way of Lyons, the Rhone, and Marseilles. All important events in each country would thus soon be made known in the others. Now it was exactly at the time when Claudius Cæsar overcame the Britons that the disciples of our Lord were becoming known and called by the title of *Christians*. How to deal with this new religion so as to please the Jews and not offend the adherents of the older heathen systems was a burning question for the Roman government. We know that many of the chief preachers of Christianity were arrested, some killed, and others imprisoned. *St. Paul* was a prisoner in Rome, chained to a soldier, at the very time when his gaoler's comrades were engaged in the long and arduous conquest of Britain. From time to time batches of prisoners were brought to that city from the seat of war, and a notable prisoner was the brave British king *Caradoc*, whom the Romans called Caratacus. He was not a contemporary prisoner with *St. Paul*; for it will be remembered that on account of his dignified bearing before the emperor his life was spared, and he was permitted to return home to govern his tribe as a subject prince of Rome; but several of his family, retained as hostages for his good behaviour, were state prisoners at Cæsar's court, at the time when we know *St. Paul* had access to it and had made many converts in the household. It is therefore quite probable that the British captives met with *St. Paul*.

5. Traditional introduction of Christianity.—A thirteenth century collection of early British traditions, which cannot be all imaginary, gives full particulars of the imprisoned hostages just referred to. They are said to have been *Bran*, *Llin*, and *Claudia*, the father, son, and daughter of Caratacus; and we are further told that this *Bran*, who had been either a druid priest or bard, became a convert to Christianity, and, on being liberated, returned to his native land as an evangelist for Christ. Although this is pure legend there is nothing improbable in the story. It is also thought that *Claudia* is the same British princess who was (according to *Martial*, the Roman historian) married to *Pudens*, the son of a Roman senator. Now in *St. Paul's* second epistle to Timothy, chap. iv. 21, *Claudia*, *Linus*, and *Pudens* are all mentioned together. This *Linus*, the Latin equivalent for *Llin*, is identified with the first of the long line of bishops of Rome. What then is more likely (if, as the *Triads* tell us,

St. Paul's friends were the children of Caratacus) than that they should take measures for the conversion of their fatherland? In the absence of direct testimony we ought not to say that St. Paul himself actually came to Britain; but it is idle to think that he could be ignorant of so notable an addition to the Roman empire, any more than in our day we could imagine an intelligent observer of the times knowing nothing of England's colonial enterprise. *St. Clement*, a personal friend of St. Paul, says that the great apostle travelled to the "*furthest limits of the West*" (a phrase which, in the Roman literature of the time, was understood to include Britain). But whether he came himself or not, we may be sure that his wonderful faculty of organization, and the great love he had for his peculiar mission to the Gentile world, would not have allowed him to overlook the claims of so important a part of it as Britain. History does not enable us to say for certain that he came here, but we may reasonably conjecture that many of his ardent converts, and in those days they burned with fervent zeal, may have helped to bring the hearts of the Britons in subjection to the power of the Cross.

6. St. Joseph of Arimathea.—Some other traditional accounts must not pass unnoticed. The *Arthurian legends* have made us familiar with one which in mediæval times, and indeed till a recent date, was considered to be unimpeachable as indicating the true source of British Christianity. It is this:—The Jews, having a special enmity to SS. Philip, Lazarus, Martha, Mary, and Joseph of Arimathea, banished them. They arrived at Marseilles, where SS. Philip and Lazarus remained, but *St. Joseph* was sent, with twelve companions and the holy women, to Britain. They landed on the south-west coast and made their way to *Avalon*, now *Glastonbury*, bearing with them the *Holy Grail* (i.e. the chalice wherein our Lord consecrated the wine and water at the institution of the Eucharist, and in which was said to be preserved some of the blood which fell from the Saviour's wounds as he hung on the cross). On their arrival they preached to the people, and for a testimony pointed to St. Joseph's thorn staff which blossomed and became a tree immediately after he had planted it in the ground near the place where they rested. Whereupon the King *Arviragus* gave them land and allowed them to settle. They at once built a church in honour of the Virgin Mary out of wattles and wreathed twigs which they plastered with mud. No one believes all

of that mythical story, but this much is certain, that no place in England has ever attempted to rival Glastonbury as the site of the *first British Christian settlement*. When or by whom the first church there was built we shall never know for truth, but a more substantial structure was soon erected in place of the original humble and primitive one, which has been added to, rebuilt, and restored from time to time, often at great cost and on a scale of great magnificence, as our picture of the now ruined twelfth century church still serves to show.



RUINS OF ST. JOSEPH'S CHAPEL, GLASTONBURY (see page 126).

7. Other traditions—Lucius.—*Gildas*, a British ecclesiastic who lived early in the sixth century, and who is our sole historian up to that time, after describing the defeat of the druids under *Boadicea*, A.D. 61, immediately goes on to say, "In the meantime, Christ the true Sun for the first time cast his rays, *i. e.* the knowledge of His laws on this island." Although the Romans governed the country the Britons still continued to be a tribal people, living in small family communities under chiefs who were called kings. *The Venerable Bede*

says that one of these British kings, named *Lucius*, sent a letter to *Eleutherius*, bishop of Rome, about A.D. 170, requesting to be made a Christian, and have some clergy sent to him, which request was granted. It would not be right to ignore this tradition, or to say that it is wholly fictitious, but scholars feel that as it rests entirely on a sixth century interpolation in a fourth century book, it must not be unreservedly accepted. Possibly *Lucius* may have heard, in the parts where he lived, enough of the new religion to make him desire to know more; and as the city of Rome was then the centre of government from which every needful thing was said to be attainable, it was a natural place for him to send to; but we must not therefore suppose that there was no Christianity among the other tribes. The traditions which state that *Lucius* converted heathen temples into Christian churches on the sites where St. Paul's cathedral and Westminster-abbey now stand; that he founded the bishopric of *Caerlecon-on-Usk*, near what is now Llandaff, and built the original churches of St. Mary, Dover; St. Martin, Canterbury; and St. Peter-upon-Cornhill, London, are extremely mythical; and the only dependable fact in connexion with *Lucius* is the declaration of Bede that from his time to the days of the emperor Diocletian "the Britons kept the faith in quiet peace, inviolate and entire."

8. Doctrine and liturgy.—There are many evidences, as we shall presently learn, respecting the purity of the faith professed in the earliest times by Britons; and the natural way of accounting for so pleasing a fact is by pre-supposing its early introduction and settlement here, before any of the grievous errors had arisen that afterwards caused so much sorrow of heart to the Christians in other lands, but which, on account of our secluded and insular position, did not easily effect a lodgment in Britain. One thing that we know for certain respecting those early times is that, in days long anterior to any reliable histories, the Christians in Britain had a definite *Liturgy*, or form of public worship. This may help us a little to understand the source from which the British Church derived its faith. There were four great liturgies in use in different parts of the primitive Christian world, obviously of common oral origin, and identical in doctrine, but differing in many smaller matters. They are known as the *Oriental*, the *Alexandrian*, the *Roman*, and the *Gallican* liturgies. That which was used in the British Church from earliest times is

identified with the Gallican, probably because the bishops from Gaul held frequent communion with the bishops in Britain. It is said that the Gallican liturgy was first compiled by the evangelist *St. John* for his Church at Ephesus, and that *Irenaeus*, who was bishop of Lyons in 177, introduced it into Gaul (see page 168). When Irenaeus became bishop of Lyons, the Roman emperor *Marcus Aurelius* was grievously persecuting the Christians everywhere, and many of the faithful in Gaul are supposed to have fled to Britain, and in that way to have increased the similarity of worship in the two countries. And there was a great outburst of religious zeal all over Gaul, after the still more terrible persecution of Christians by the emperor Decius, about A.D. 250, by which the British Church was greatly strengthened.



HADRIAN'S WALL (see footnote on next page).

9. Historical testimony.—Towards the close of the second century, *i.e.* about the year 193, the fame of the British Church had reached even unto Africa, for *Tertullian*, the great apologist of Christianity there, wrote:—"For in whom else have all the nations believed, but in Christ? Parthians, Medes, Elamites, all the coasts of Spain, the various nations of Gaul, and the *parts inaccessible to the Romans* but now subject to Christ." The only parts then inaccessible to the Romans were the unconquered Picts in the highlands beyond the fortified walls of Hadrian and

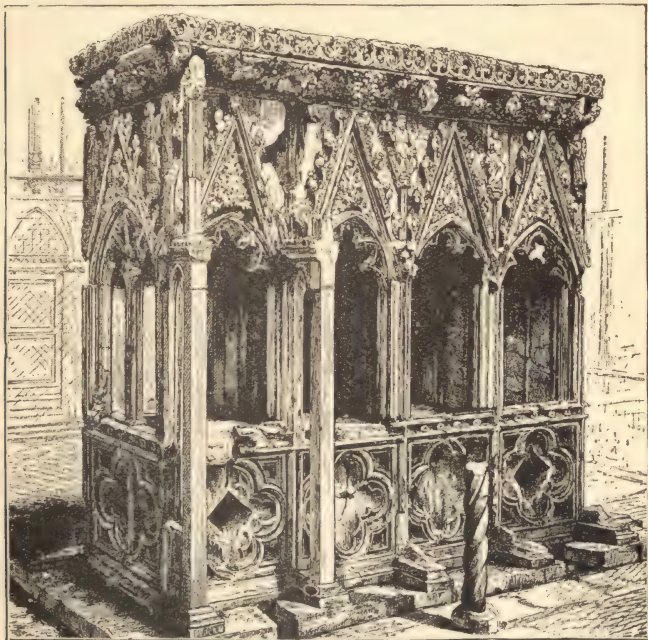
Agricola.¹ Another great writer, Origen, about A.D. 240, testified that in his day the religion of Christ was established in Britain; after which date many historians record the fact. No one, however, disputes the existence of Christianity in Britain about this time. The controversy rather centres upon the question of its orthodoxy, although there is also an obvious desire on the part of later writers to connect the leading missions of this time with the Church of Rome.

10. The early missionaries.—We can only conjecture what was the character of Christian influence in Britain then, except that it was distinctly of a missionary type. The usual method seems to have been for a band of devoted men, generally twelve, under a recognized leader, to penetrate into some untried district and there publish the Gospel of peace. If they were well received they would beg a plot of land on which to build their habitation, and gradually gain converts. Their simple and self-denying lives constrained the people to listen to their teaching, and thus they made conquest of human hearts. The leader would then seek consecration as bishop of the flock he had gathered together, and when his disciples were sufficiently zealous and fitted for the task, fresh companies of twelve would be selected from the settlement and commissioned to win some other centre to the cause. So the work went steadily on, tribe after tribe among the Celts in Britain admitted the claim of the Cross to their allegiance, until the whole land became subdued to its influence. Each settlement was a perfectly organized Church, complete in itself, but so related to other centres by mutual counsel, spiritual sympathy, and common belief, as to form but one harmonious and united society.

11. The early martyrs.—Towards the close of the third century or perhaps in the beginning of the fourth, the British Church had, in common with other Christian communities, to attest the reality of its faith by the blood of its members. Very many persons of both sexes are said by Gildas to have suffered in different places. A few who met their fate in the principal Roman towns are specially mentioned by name: *e.g.* Aaron and Julius, who were martyred at

¹ About A.D. 210, Severus built numerous fortresses, part of which still stand, along the line of Hadrian's great wall, from Carlisle to the Tyne, and allowed the Picts to occupy the territory that intervened between it and the northern wall which Agricola and Antoninus built. This district was, however, reclaimed again by Valentinian, A.D. 368, and called "Valentia" after him. After the Romans left Britain, the Scots contended for it against the Picts and established a colony there.

Caerleon ; but the chief place as protomartyr has always been assigned to a Roman soldier of noble birth named *Alban*, who lived at *Verulam*. At the commencement of the general persecution of Christians ordered by the emperor *Diocletian*, Alban gave shelter to *Amphibalus*, a Christian priest, who was flying from the Roman officers, and afterwards facilitated his escape by exchanging clothes with him. Before



ST. ALBAN'S SHRINE.

Amphibalus bade farewell to his preserver, Alban had received such instruction in the truths of Christianity as made him determine to die rather than betray his guest. When brought before the judge, charged with concealing a blasphemer of the Roman gods, he avowed himself a convert to the proscribed religion, and refused, in spite of torture, to burn incense at the heathen altars. He was therefore

sentenced to death, and beheaded outside the city ; but his constancy and devotion caused so many others to profess the Christian faith that the Roman judges, with the connivance of the governor Constantius, were obliged to withhold the enforcement of the persecuting edicts. The events to be recorded in the next chapter speedily put an end to the persecutions of Christians, and then, in this and other countries, stately and beautiful buildings were erected for the worship of the Saviour, in honour of those who witnessed to His mission by their lives and deaths. On the spot where St. Alban was killed, the Christian Britons erected a church to his memory, which was replaced, as centuries rolled by, with more magnificent structures (see page 152). Saxons and Danes, as they became Christians, each strove to outvie their predecessors in the honour done to the memory of Britain's soldier martyr. The present church at St. Albans contains remains of the shrines of Amphibalus and his martyred convert, to both of which pilgrimages were made from all parts of Christendom for many succeeding generations. The name of St. Alban occupies an honoured place in the calendar of the English Church, against the 17th of June.



CHAPTER II. (A.D. 274-449)

GROWTH AND VIGOUR OF BRITISH CHRISTIANITY

“That heresies should strike (if truth be scanned
Presumptuously) their roots both wide and deep
Is natural as dreams to feverish sleep.

The Pictish cloud darkens the enervate land
By Rome abandoned.”

1. Constantine the great.—We must turn again to Roman history. Under the rule of Gallienus some of the governors of Britain assumed independent sovereignty of the province. The chief of them was *Carausius*, who, when *Diocletian* became emperor, so successfully resisted the imperial authority that he was permitted to retain the usurped dignity. Diocletian then resolved to govern the empire by four Cæsars, who should each rule a specified division, but act in harmony. The Gallican provinces were assigned to *Constantius*, who quickly recovered Britain for the empire, and set up his court in the city of York. Before this a devout Christian lady, named *Helena*, became his wife; and in A.D. 274, a son was born to them, called *Constantine*, who accompanied his father to York. In that city Constantius died, A.D. 306, Constantine succeeding him as Cæsar. The other Cæsars objecting to his elevation, he had to uphold his position by force of arms, which he did successfully; and after twelve years' joint authority with *Licinius*, became sole emperor in 324. The soldiers of Britain and Gaul, who formed the backbone of his army, shared in his successes. Many of them were undoubtedly Christians, and they had become attached to their leader ever since his father Constantius had allowed the persecuting edicts of Diocletian to be waived, which Constantine on assuming the purple had withdrawn altogether. This was no small boon to them, because where the



ROMAN TOWER AT YORK.

edicts were enforced, Gildas informs us, the Christian churches were demolished, the holy writings burnt, priests and people dragged to the shambles and butchered like sheep, to such an extent that in some provinces scarcely any traces of Christianity remained. This was the last of *ten great persecutions* by which the early Church was tried, and thereafter Christians were allowed full liberty to serve and worship God in Christ. It was doubtless to a large extent because the shrewd Constantine had found the Christians in his army brave, resolute, honest, and fearless of death in a right cause; as well as in grateful recognition of the signal aid they had always afforded his father and himself; perhaps also from a keen perception that the marvellously rapid increase of the Christians, in spite of all these persecutions, indicated a still more numerous membership at no distant date; that he not only gave them full toleration, but took a personal interest in all their affairs, and adopted the once shameful symbol of the cross, not only as his standard in battle, but also as the image and superscription on many coins. A well-known tradition infers that this change of front was brought about by his having seen in the sky a vision of the cross, and underneath it in Latin words, "*In this sign conquer,*" but Britons may be forgiven for cherishing the patriotic idea that no small part of Constantine's goodwill to Christianity, and his efforts for its welfare throughout the Roman empire, was due to the respect for its great truths commanded by the lives of British converts; and that Christians of Britain repaid their debt to the continent by giving to the world the first emperor who embraced the true faith. Up to that time the Christian missionaries had commenced their efforts among the lowest of the people, gradually working upwards, as they gained adherents, to the higher ranks of life; but later on the practice was to convert the king and his court, leaving the people to follow the fashion. In 313 Constantine persuaded his colleague Licinius to agree to a joint edict, which granted to all Christians equal liberty with the older religions to live according to their own laws and institutions; and by 324, when Licinius was killed, European heathenism had received its death-blow. The advancement of Constantine meant the decadence of Britain as a Roman province, for all the flower of its army, all its beauty and intellect and valour, followed in the train of the conqueror, first to Rome, and then to the still grander city of Byzantium, which Constantine founded to be the seat of government instead of Rome,

leaving their stately homes in Britain to fall into decay. Only the missionaries remained to instruct and comfort the poor plebeians, who were unable through weakness or poverty to accompany the ever victorious army, with thoughts of greater treasures and a more glorious citizenship in the world to come.



THE CITY OF CONSTANTINOPLE (BYZANTIUM).

2. Church councils.—We now arrive at a very important period in Church history—the age of *Church Councils*. During the times of persecution the Christians were obliged, not infrequently to worship in dens and caves of the earth for fear of arrest, they carried their lives in their hands and on their tongues, they were afraid to meet in private, much less to assemble publicly; and so the faithful were often left without proper guidance and instruction from authorized teachers. When better times came, and they were able to worship openly and exchange ideas without fear or favour, it was found that many wild interpretations had been put upon important doctrines, and that a

number of erroneous opinions were current. Constantine, although not as yet a professed Christian, was appealed to as arbitrator. It was then decided that learned representatives and leaders of Christian thought, from all parts of the empire, should be summoned to meet in council and discuss disputed points as they arose; the authoritative declarations of such assemblies to be accepted as the *orthodox belief*. The Church in Britain was repeatedly invited to send representatives, because it was recognized throughout Christendom as a true and integral part of the apostolic and universal Church of Christ.

3. British bishops present.—In the year 314 such a council was held at *Arles*, in Gaul, mainly for the purpose of settling the differences of opinion as to how the Church should treat the timid members, who, in times of persecution, had yielded in various ways to the demands made by the heathens; and among the names of the

signatories to the canons then formulated we find the following representatives from Britain:—(1) *Eborius*, bishop of York; (2) *Restitutus*, bishop of London; (3) *Adelphius*, bishop of another *Civitate Colonia*, which is



ROMAN AMPHITHEATRE AT ARLES.

supposed to have been Caerleon-on-Usk. Assuming that this is correct it would seem as if the bishops named were ecclesiastical overseers in the three civil divisions of Roman Britain:—(1) *Maxima Caesariensis*, with its centre at York; (2) *Britannia Prima*, of which London was the chief town; and (3) *Britannia Secunda*, of which Caerleon-on-Usk was the metropolis. Besides the bishops mentioned, the names of *Sacerdos*, a priest, and *Arminius*, a deacon, are also recorded as having been present at the council of Arles among the representatives from Britain. The absurd twelfth century tale of *Geoffrey of Monmouth*,

which makes the position of those bishops correspond with that of modern archbishops, and which further says no less than twenty-eight suffragan bishops then assisted those metropolitans, we may safely consider false; but of this we can rest assured, that so early as that notable council of Arles, the Church in Britain was thoroughly established on an admittedly orthodox basis, with its three apostolic orders of clergy (bishops, priests, and deacons) in communion with the other Christian Churches of the world. That satisfactory state of things could not have sprung full-grown into existence, it must have been the result of many years' unwearied diligence, activity, and self-denial. That the British Church could have afforded to send a deputation so far away at that time, proves it to have already made considerable financial progress, and we may be sure that the same benevolence which found the means to defray the expenses connected with the journey, would not have neglected to provide the clergy at home with such buildings, and fittings, and holy writings for the proper conduct of public worship, as would be worthy of the cause; and in harmony with the elegance and durability for which Roman towns in Britain were famous.

4. The council of Nicæa.—In 325, one year after Constantine became sole emperor, a very large Church council was held at *Nicæa*, by his suggestion, to consider a far more serious matter, viz. the teaching and writings of *Arius*, who denied the consubstantiality of the divine Father and Son. At this assembly 318 bishops from every part of Christendom were present, and although we cannot nominate those belonging to Britain, we are informed that as soon as the representatives returned with the decisions of the council, all the British bishops signified their agreement in a letter sent by them to their beloved ruler, and old friend, Constantine the great. Any Christian teacher who opposed the decrees of such a council was declared to be excommunicate, but it has been the chiefest glory of the Church in this country, before and since it was called England, that its teaching has always proved to be in strict accord with such doctrines as have been pronounced true by these Catholic councils. The formulated doctrinal decision of the bishops assembled at *Nicæa* is to be found with very few verbal differences in the *Nicene Creed* (which forms part of the service for Holy Communion) down to the words "in the Holy Ghost." The additions and alterations were

made at subsequent councils to meet other false doctrines as they arose. That was the earliest published declaration of the Catholic Faith, and if ever Christians throughout the world are again agreed, it should be upon the basis of the Nicene creed.

5. Other councils.—The followers of Arius did not take kindly to their excommunication, or the banishment of their leader; moreover, they had many friends at court, and the support of all who were still favourable to the older heathen religions; so that sometimes their star was in the ascendant, and the faithful had to fight their battle for truth over again in other councils. *St. Athanasius*, the leading debater for the orthodox party at the assembly of Nicæa, tells us that a deputation of bishops from Britain attended the council of *Sardica*, A.D. 347, and supported him against the accusations of the Arian party, who were then in great favour at Constantinople, a very satisfactory reminiscence for us. Yet another council, held at *Ariminum*, A.D. 360, testifies to the unceasing vigour of the British Church in spite of the increasing depression in the prosperity of the country. This council was summoned by the emperor *Constantius*, a son of Constantine, who offered to pay the expenses of the delegates out of the imperial treasury. Nearly all the prelates declined this favour. The exceptions were three of those who came from Britain. That any Britons should accept assistance points indeed to a growing poverty in some parts of our land; but the determination to pay their own expenses on the part of the other British bishops present, and an offer by them to defray the costs incurred by their poorer countrymen, shows that there was still considerable prosperity in other parts. It is said that the bishops from Britain present at Ariminum were unwittingly inveigled into expressing an heretical opinion respecting *Arianism*, and therefore any testimonies to their general orthodoxy at this period are especially valuable. We are glad to know that *Hilary of Poitiers*, while an exile in Phrygia, about A.D. 358, congratulated the “bishops of the province of Britain,” in common with other bishops whom he specifies, on having remained “free from all contagion of the detestable (Arian) heresy”; that *St. Athanasius*, in a letter to the emperor Jovian, A.D. 363, was able to include the churches of Britain amongst those that were loyal to the catholic faith; that *St. Jerome*, before the close of the fourth century, could report them as “worshipping the same Christ, and observing the same rule of faith as other nations;” and that *St. Chrysostom*, whom we all venerate so highly, was able to

say that in this country, as in the East and South or beside the Euxine, "men may be heard discussing points of Scripture with differing voices, *but not differing belief.*" After this consensus of opinion we are prepared to find that, although in some rules of discipline and a few points of ritual observance, the British Christians were subsequently found to have differed from continental practice, their doctrinal position was in true harmony with the universal Church.

6. Decay of Roman Britain.

—Up to this time Britain had been constantly governed by the Romans, although after Constantine went away the deputy rulers were not so eminent as their predecessors. *Latin*,

the language of the Romans, had for a long time been the chief medium of communication in all important affairs, and a Latin translation of the Bible was used, probably founded on the old Latin version from which St. Jerome translated the Vulgate; but when the educated people left Britain to be near the imperial courts,

the illiterate remnant went gradually back to their own Celtic tongue. Being a "distant dependency" of the empire, Britain had not been of much profit to Rome, while, in order to keep the tribes in subjection, a large military force was required, which caused a severe strain on the imperial exchequer; therefore, when all the available legions and



ROMAN SOLDIERS.

funds were needed to defend Italy against the Gothic invasion, and the soldiers on foreign service had to be recalled, Britain was evacuated, about A.D. 410, never to be re-occupied by the Romans. By this arrangement, as Gildas tells us, the land was despoiled of all its armed soldiery, and all its active and flourishing youth. Then the people, deprived of all civilizing influences, except such as the few Christian teachers who remained were able to impart, were left to govern themselves. But as they had forgotten how to do this, the old habit of tribal chieftains fighting for supremacy was revived.

“ For many a petty king ere Arthur came
 Ruled in this isle, and ever waging war
 Each upon other, wasted all the land ;
 And still from time to time the heathen host
 Swarm'd over seas, and harried what was left
 And King Leodogran
 Groan'd for the Roman legions here again,
 And Cæsar's eagle.”

The withdrawal of the Romans, and the disturbed state of Europe put an end to trade and commerce between Britain and Gaul ; the interchange of courtesies between the Churches became less frequent in consequence, so that, while the Christians adhered zealously to the fundamental truths they had received, they were not kept supplied with safeguards against the introduction of new doctrinal errors.

7. Pelagianism.—It appears that about this time no small stir was made in the Christian world by one of the British clergy, named *Morgan*, who had followed the stream of fortune hunters to Rome. He is said by *St. Jerome* to have been of Scottish (*i. e.* Irish¹) descent, but on account of his name he is generally considered as a native of what is now Wales. *Morgan* means *sea-born*, and the Greek equivalent (*Pelagius*) is the name by which he and his heresy (*Pelagianism*) are known to scholars. He was a man of great originality of thought, and his desire for fame was realized, although not in the sense he would have preferred. His remarkable views were quickly pronounced heterodox, and his name covered with dishonour. The chief points of the controversy were—his denial of original sin, and his assertion that man is capable of turning to God and serving Him without the need of divine grace. His opponent was the great Augustine, bishop of

¹ Lowland Scots are descendants of tribes who went from the north-west of Scotia, now called Ireland, to settle in Valentia, the low-lying district between the Roman walls. Highlanders are descended from the Picts.

Hippo (whom we must be careful to distinguish from Augustine, the monk, who came to Kent nearly 200 years later), who, while heartily contending against his errors, cheerfully admits that in private life Pelagius was "honourable, earnest, chaste, and commendable; a holy man who had made considerable progress in the Christian life, a good and praiseworthy person, with whose name he first became acquainted when he (Pelagius) was living at Rome with commendation and respect."

The Britons were naturally proud of their clever countryman, and, although he did not personally propagate his doctrines here, many quickly believed them, to the dismay of the orthodox clergy; who were unable personally to convince the people of their errors, for the reason we have stated—that the best of the clergy had withdrawn from the country with the best of the people, only the least influential remaining. The clergy who did stay in the country sent to the *Gallican Church* for aid and guidance, and the Church in Gaul, having discussed the matter in council at Troyes, arranged



HADRIAN'S CASTLE, ROME
(now called the Castle of St. Angelo).

to send two of its most able and learned bishops to visit Britain. These were *Germanus*, bishop of Auxerre, and *Lupus*, bishop of Troyes. They reached this country A.D. 429, and by their eloquence soon convinced the Pelagians of their heresy. Not only do they appear to have preached frequently in different parts of the country, they also convened a synod at Verulam (St. Albans), at which the orthodox party was signally victorious.

8. The "Alleluia" battle.—It is recorded that during their visit the barbarous tribes from the north, whom the Romans had never been able to conquer, harassed the southern tribes by forcing a passage through the chain of forts built by *Agricola* and *Hadrian* across the

north at the Forth and Tyne. They had been especially troublesome during the Lenten season of 430, when the Gallican bishops and the British clergy had been engaged in preparing the young and the novices for the great annual baptism at Easter; whereupon Germanus and Lupus undertook to lead the forces of the south against their northern adversaries as soon as the festival was over. The combatants on both sides were simple-minded people, and the superior intellect of the bishops soon invented a ruse which resulted in a bloodless victory. By the aid of scouts they learned the movements of their northern insurgents, and hid the lustiest and most active of the southerners in a wooded valley. The Picts came over and down the hills expecting no opposition, and were almost close to the ambushade, when, at a given signal from Germanus, the clergy all shouted "Alleluia!" Their followers repeated the word as one man, raising a shout which reverberated to the hills and gradually increased in volume of sound. Their enemies were unused to such disciplined movements, and imagining from the noise that their adversaries greatly outnumbered themselves, were smitten with sudden terror, threw away their weapons, and fled back to their hills in precipitate disorder. That has been called the "Alleluia Victory," and the place where it is said to have occurred, "Maes Garmon" (the field of Germanus), is still pointed out in Flintshire. Britons consequently held the name of Germanus in great esteem, and when the Gallican bishops proceeded to inspect such places of interest for Christians as the island afforded, their lasting popularity was assured. At the tomb of St. Alban, Germanus deposited with great ceremony certain relics of apostles and martyrs, and took away some earth from the spot where Alban fell, to place in a new church which he caused to be erected at Auxerre in honour of the martyred soldier. From that time we may date the rapid rise of that excessive veneration for the shrines of saints which in later centuries threatened to replace the higher worship of the Holy Trinity.

9. Second visit of the Gallican bishops.—It was thought that the visit of the Gallican prelates had effectually disposed of the Pelagian heresy in Britain, but it was revived fifteen years after, and Germanus was implored to come and set things right again. Lupus, bishop of Troyes, being now dead, Germanus had for his companion this time *Severus*, bishop of Trèves. They reached this country early in the year 447 and were again successful in their efforts on behalf of

the orthodox faith. The heretical teachers were banished, after which, as Bede informs us, "the faith of Britain remained inviolate." Another triumphal progress through the land was made by the distinguished strangers, with the result that religious zeal and enthusiasm were everywhere aroused. Existing churches were restored and beautified, new ones founded, the number of bishops increased, and a spirit of devotion revived among the Celtic race which has never



RUINS OF ST. GERMAN'S, ISLE OF MAN.

wholly died. One memento of this mission may be found in the bishopric of the Isle of Man, which was founded in honour of Germanus, A.D. 447, its first bishop adopting his name. The ruins of *St. German's cathedral*, which may still be seen on the rock at the entrance to Peel harbour, are not the remains of the original church, but they stand on its site and still speak volumes to us of the missionary zeal which for centuries flowed from it to other parts. Glastonbury and St. Albans received a particular share of attention from Germanus, and the religious fervour

he communicated to the people had much to do with the determined resistance they offered to the heathen races who were about to invade the land, a resistance which will be memorable as long as the defence of Christianity by King Arthur and his knights of the round table occupy so large a place in our romantic song and story.

Thus from the second to the middle of the fifth century Christianity

was the religion of all the land of Britain which the Romans had subdued. What we now call Ireland and Scotland were less fully open to its influence, owing to the absence of regular intercourse between the countries, and to the long standing feuds between the different Celtic tribes.

10. The Celtic mission in Scotland.—There is much to show that the British Christians did not forget or neglect to evangelize their heathen kindred, but the difficulty of dissociating the object of religious teachers from the avowed antipathy of the tribes from which they came, must be held to account for their tardy success. To remove that misapprehension was a work of time, and much depended on the personal character of the leading missionaries. In this respect also, the influence of the Gallican bishops had great results. Long before he came to our country the great ability and sanctity of Germanus had drawn towards him a number of young men who desired to be instructed at his feet, with the view of carrying on evangelistic work in the British Isles. Many more followed him on his return to Gaul, where other well-known teachers, such as *St. Martin of Tours*, and famous schools like that of *Lerins* had long offered great inducements. Foremost among those young students was *Ninian*, the son of a British chief, who, desiring to preach the Word to the *Scots*, was sent abroad for education. Having been consecrated as a bishop, he settled in the lowlands about the year 400, and established a Christian community at Whithorn. The rude Scots to whom he was sent were a very violent people, of whom it is said that “they had more hair on their faces than clothes on their bodies.” They had come from what was then called *Scotia*, but now *Ireland*, to occupy *Valentia*, that is, the lands between the *Solway* and *Clyde*, and although they eventually became rulers of the north, and gave their name to the country, at the time of which we are now treating they were an exceedingly barbarous race. After eight years of discouraging labour among them, St. Ninian was compelled to quit the country and seek refuge among people of the same race who still remained in Ireland. Before leaving he had built a substantial church of white stone, then an unknown material for such a purpose to the people among whom he placed it. It was the fame of this church which gave the name of Whithorn (white house) to the locality. We have no record of his work among the other Scottish tribes whom

he visited in Ireland, but it was doubtless to carry on his work there that *Palladius*, also a native of Britain, was in A.D. 431 consecrated by Celestine, bishop of Rome, to be bishop of the Scots who believed in Christ. His mission, however, was not successful. He was expelled from Ireland, as Ninian had been from Whithorn, by the chief of the tribe, perhaps because he denounced their means of livelihood ; piracy and slave-trading being their chief avocations.



CELTIC MISSIONARIES STARTING ON A VOYAGE.

11. St. Patrick.—Among the captives which these rude robbers had stolen from the Clyde, about the year 403, was a youth of sixteen years, named Succoth, whose noble birth gained for him the surname of Patricius, or *Patrick*. It seems that both his father and grandfather were Christian clergymen, so that he received an intellectual training from a very early age. Some pirates took him to the north of Ireland, where he was forced to tend cattle belonging to the chief. After six years he was impelled by a dream to escape from captivity, but was a second time taken by pirates, this time being carried to Gaul. He was noticed there by Christian merchants who restored him to his friends.

The heathenism of the Irish people among whom he had been enslaved troubled him greatly, and he longed to be the means of converting them to the Christian faith. For that purpose his father sent him to Gaul to be taught in the schools of Tours, Auxerre, and Lerins. In due time he was consecrated "*bishop of the Irish*." Thus commissioned, and accompanied by twelve friends, he landed A.D. 432 at the place where the town of Wicklow now stands. Proceeding northwards, he had the good fortune to convert Sinell, king of Leinster, the very chief who had expelled Palladius, and after a few years met with such success as to be able to establish the *See of Armagh*, which has ever since been the chief bishopric of Ireland. Before St. Patrick died, he had organized a thoroughly efficient ecclesiastical system in the isle of Erin, with monasteries governed by native clergy, which became centres of education, refinement, and missionary enterprise. After his death the Church in Ireland appears to have lost ground, and to have been indebted for revival to the bishops of the British (*i. e.* Welsh) Church (see page 36).

12. Further Celtic missions.—The work begun by St. Ninian in Scotland was not allowed to die out. Several names are given in various histories of missionaries who had penetrated successfully even "the lands beyond Forth" after his departure, while on the north-east coast, a Greek bishop is traditionally reported to have brought certain relics of *St. Andrew*, and founded a Christian community at the place still named after that apostle, who has since become the patron saint of Scotland. But the real continuation and consolidation of St. Ninian's labours in the lowlands was owing to *St. Kentigern*, otherwise known as St. Mungo, who, early in the sixth century, preached from Solway-firth to the Clyde, and founded the monastery of *St. Asaph*, in Wales, soon to be the seat of the bishopric so named¹ (see page 29). We are now able to see how vigorous and extensive was the work of the British Church; nor can we fail to be impressed with the thought that the see of Rome, which afterwards made such unreasonable demands upon its allegiance, had a singularly small share therein.

¹ The principal church of a district governed by a bishop is called a *cathedral*, because it contains the *seat*, or throne, of the bishop. The word comes from the Greek *kathedra*—a seat. The area over which a bishop has jurisdiction is called his *see* for a kindred reason but the latter word is derived from the Latin *sedeo*, to sit—hence, to sit in judgment, or to rule.

CHAPTER III. (A.D. 449-597)

EFFECT OF THE ANGLO-SAXON CONQUEST

"The spirit of Caractacus descends
Upon the patriots, animates their glorious task;
Amazement runs before the towering casque
Of Arthur, bearing through the stormy field
The Virgin sculptured on his Christian shield."

1. The Jutes settle in Kent.—We have next to consider the time when the Britons had to fall back before the overwhelming might of the *Teutonic* or German tribes, who began their work of conquest in Britain the same year that Germanus had left our shores for the last time. Bede tells us that "the poverty-stricken remnant of the Britons"—men who forgot how to fight for their country when they forgot how to govern it—sent a letter to *Ælius*, the Roman consul,



imploping military aid against the barbarous northerners who were ravaging the country. But the Romans were too fully occupied with the defence of their own country to send help to the colony they had evacuated. In despair *Vortigern*, one of the British kings, invited a band of heathen warriors from *Jutland*, beyond the sea, hoping that by setting one barbarous tribe against another he might get rid of the

fierce and frequent attacks of the northern insurgents. *The Saxon Chronicle* says that the first company of *Jutes* landed at *Ebsfleet* in the isle of Thanet, under the command of two brothers, *Hengist* and *Horsa*. A treaty was made between them and *Vortigern*, that the *Jutes* should have a trading port in British territory on condition that they helped the Britons against the northern tribes; and *Vortigern's* daughter *Rowena* was married to *Hengist* as a pledge of good faith. When the northern enemies were defeated the allies of the Britons were not satisfied with the indemnity offered them, and claimed a larger reward for their services than the Britons were willing to give. War followed, in which the *Jutes* were victorious, and as they had by that time seen enough of the country and its resources to make them desirous of owning it they seized the district now called *Kent*. There they established a colony, with their leader as king, following up their advantage by making continual raids upon the Britons, who stubbornly contested their fatherland inch by inch. The feud between the Celtic and Teutonic races thus commenced has never been wholly obliterated, and still unhappily shows itself in the political atmosphere of Great Britain and Ireland. Our map of north-west Europe (see page 27) will explain the geographical position originally occupied by the tribes who now became, and for centuries remained, the rulers of our land. The *Jutes* were separated from the *Saxons* by the *Angles*, but they all spoke dialects of the same language, known to us as *Old English*, and so called because the English or Angles became the dominant tribe, and gave our country and tongue its present name. The Teutonic invaders were unwilling to use the speech of the Celts who inhabited Britain before them. In derision they called it and the speakers of it "*Welsh*," which meant that they were unintelligible. The persistence with which each race adhered to its own customs, intensified the ill-feeling between the Britons and their foes. Friendly intercourse was next to impossible, and the struggle was for life or death. "Armed with long swords and battle-axes, the new colonists went forth in family bands under petty chieftains to war against the Welsh, and when they had conquered themselves a district they settled on it as lords of the soil" (*Grant Allen*). Save for a handful here and there who hid themselves in the fastnesses of forest and mountain and marsh, they slew or enslaved the Britons, and when they had completely subdued the old inhabitants they kept up their warlike spirit by fighting among themselves. The conquered land was divided

amongst the victors by lot. The chief received a suitable portion, of which he remained the private possessor. It is thought that the lands previously belonging to the British Christian churches were then appropriated by the conquerors to the maintenance of heathen worship.



ST. ASAPH CATHEDRAL (LLANELWY) (see page 34).

2. Arrival of the Saxons.—The Teutonic tribes did not come to our country all at once, nor overspread it from one centre, but landed at different places in successive generations, so that the Britons were continually subject to inroads from fresh and vigorous enemies until they were almost surrounded. The Jutes came first in 449, as we have seen, and in 477 the *Saxons*, having heard from them of the richness and fertility of Britain, invaded the south coast under the leadership of *Ælle* and his son *Cissa*, who landed at Selsea and encamped at Chichester (*Cissanccaster*), i.e. Cissa's camp. They attacked the Roman town of *Anderida*, and left no Briton alive to tell the tale. The territory they occupied was for a long time known as the kingdom of the *South-Saxons*, whence we have "*Sussex*." In 495 there was a still more important invasion. A second band of Saxons

came to what is now Hampshire, under *Cerdic* and *Cynric*, and these gradually overran all the south-west of Britain, as far as Somersetshire, and called their kingdom Wessex (the *West-Saxons*). It is said that their chief antagonist was the renowned *King Arthur*, of whom we have already heard, and that he, at the battle of *Mount Badon*, A.D. 520, so stubbornly resisted the Saxon advance, that the territory now known as Cornwall, Devon, and Somerset, then called by the Saxons *West-Wales*, was for many years free from fighting.

“And Arthur and his knighthood for a space
Were all one will, and thro’ that strength the king
Drew in the petty princedoms under him,
Fought, and in twelve great battles overcame
The heathen hordes, and made a realm and reign’d.”

By this means the famous church of *Glastonbury*, “first ground of the saints, the rise and foundation of all religion in our land,” was preserved from the terrible destruction and desecration that fell upon the other churches which the British Christians had built. Other, but smaller bands of Saxons colonized the parts known to us as Essex (the *East-Saxons*), and Middlesex (the *Middle-Saxons*), about 530.

3. The Anglian colonies.—It is thought by some that small expeditions of Jutes and Saxons had settled in the north of Britain even before they had established themselves in the south. Perhaps when they helped the Britons to drive the northern tribes beyond the Roman wall, many families might have been invited to remain on the northern shores; but the first real occupation of the north did not take place until 547, when a large number of *Angles* were brought over by *Ida*. Their descendants soon became masters of the whole country from the river Humber to the firth of Forth. Their kingdom was called *Northumbria* and their kings were at one time *bretwaldas*, i.e. overlords, of all the Anglo-Saxon tribes. Other Anglian colonies were subsequently founded in the eastern counties and the midlands. Norfolk and Suffolk were occupied about A.D. 585, and known as the kingdom of *East-Anglia*. The coast from the Wash to the Humber formed the territory of the *Middle-Angles*, which, by additions from the earlier Anglian settlers who allied against the *Welsh*, gradually developed into the great central kingdom of *Mercia*. Thus the *Heptarchy* (i.e. the seven Anglo-Saxon kingdoms of Kent, Sussex, Essex, Wessex, Northumbria, East-Anglia, and Mercia) was formed.

Sometimes the kingdoms of Wessex, Mercia, Northumbria, and East-Anglia were divided into still smaller kingdoms, that a king's son or brother might share in the government, and succeed to full power should the king fall in battle. On the death of either, such divisions would be re-united. The Anglian tribes inhabited a far larger portion of British territory than the Saxons or Jutes, and that is why the country was eventually called Angleland (England). Rivers and mountains were the natural boundaries, but, as each small range of hills was captured by the colonists, the Britons were driven westward, and had to be content with *Wales*, *West-Wales*, and *Strathclyde* as their portion.

4. The destruction of British churches.—It must not be thought that they surrendered their right to the possession of the rest without a struggle. The fact that 150 years were required by the Anglo-Saxons to subdue the flat country districts, proves that in all the world-wide struggles between the Teuton and Latin races no land was “so stubbornly fought for or so hardly won” as Britain. The enthusiastic love of Christianity, aroused by Bishop Germanus just before the first Teutonic invasion, had much to do with the wondrous resolution of the Britons to die where they fought in defence of their churches, rather than fly and leave them to the desecration, plunder,



ST. PANCRAS CHURCH RUINS, CANTERBURY (see pages 32 and 50).

and burning that they knew would be their fate at Anglo-Saxon hands. Nothing could exceed the determination with which the invaders set about annihilating all the Christian sanctuaries that they found. Bede says that all public and private buildings were destroyed, the priests' blood was spilt upon the altars, prelates and people were destroyed together by fire and sword, no man daring to give them decent burial. Most of the cities and churches were burned to the ground, many inhabitants being buried in the ruins. For a time Theon, bishop of London, and Thadioc, bishop of York, wandered about their dioceses; but when the country had entirely relapsed into paganism, and they found that all was lost, then they were forced to retire amongst their fellow-Christians in the west. Among the churches known to have been abandoned by the Britons were St. Martin's and St. Pancras in Canterbury. They are illustrated on pages 31 and 50.

5. Anglo-Saxon heathenism.—The Anglo-Saxons worshipped “gods many and lords many,” and their rage was even greater against the Christian teachers of the Britons than against the Britons themselves. For a little time it seemed as if all traces of civilization had been driven from the land. The very names of the days of the week remind us of the deities they worshipped. The Sun; and the Moon; Tiw, their god of battles and giver of victory; Woden, the recognized founder of their race; Thor or Thunder, their god of strength; Frea, the goddess of peace and plenty, and Sætere, the god of agriculture. They gave to the hills and valleys and streams names of veneration, and to their leaders similar symbolical titles; *e. g.* *Hengist* and *Horsa* mean “horse” and “mare,” and *Ethelwulf*, the “noble wolf.” Such names indicate the extent to which their religion was identified with animate and inanimate objects of nature. “But the average heathen Anglo-Saxon religion was merely a vast mass of superstition, a dark and gloomy terrorism begotten of the vague dread of misfortune, which barbarians naturally feel in a half-peopled land, where war and massacre are the highest business of every man's lifetime, and a violent death the ordinary way in which he meets his end. . . . Their greatest virtue was courage, cowardice their greatest vice; those who fell in battle were at once admitted to the hall of Woden to drink ale for ever out of the skulls of their enemies.”¹ In every new settlement the chief of a Teutonic tribe would erect near his own dwelling a temple for the

¹ Grant Allen, *Anglo-Saxon Britain*. S.P.C.K. 2s. 6d.

gods, and it sometimes happened that a British Christian church was preserved by the Anglo-Saxons from utter destruction to serve this purpose. Such desecration was for Christians infinitely worse than demolition, yet when the heathen Teutons became converted, the churches so defiled were restored to the purpose for which they were originally built (see page 50), and thus became bonds of union between their founders and the Christians who subsequently worshipped in them.



BANGOR CATHEDRAL, CAERNARVONSHIRE.

6. The survival of British Christianity.—The result of the Anglo-Saxon invasion was not, as some seem to have imagined, to utterly destroy the Celtic races or their religion, but to cut off their intercourse with the Gallican Church and so prevent them hearing of any progressive changes which may have been deemed expedient for the safe-guarding of the true Faith. Jutes and Saxons and Angles formed a wedge, so to speak, which separated the “Welsh” from other Christians in Europe. This fact accounts for the difference of ritual

observance in the British, Irish, and Scottish Churches from those of the continent, when the latter made a way through the heathen tribes at the beginning of the seventh century, and found that the Celtic Christians, whom they had almost forgotten, had preserved intact their ancient faith and worship, as well as their apostolic ministerial succession. It was then asked why the Britons had not attempted to convert their conquerors, and they explained that it had been impossible for a "Welsh" Christian teacher to show himself among the pagan conquerors and live. They did not, however, neglect to spread the knowledge of the truth, for, having consolidated their own organizations under altered conditions, they not only completed the evangelization of Ireland and Scotland, but sent missionaries to the heathen parts of the mainland of Europe (see page 103).

7. Organization of the Church in Wales.—When the British Christians were driven from their old homes, a few fled beyond seas, but the greater portion who survived the struggle maintained in the west a vigorous Christianity. They divided the land that remained to them into ecclesiastical districts, with a bishop, a cathedral church, and a monastic college attached to each. These latter became the centres of religious thought, and the depositories of such literature as they were able to preserve and copy, as well as training-schools for fresh generations of evangelists and teachers. Perhaps the most important of these scholastic communities were those of *Bangor-is-y-coed* on the Dee, near Chester (which is said to have had as many as 2000 members when ultimately destroyed by the Anglian king Ethelred), and that of *Caerleon-on-Usk*, which had doubtless seen an unbroken succession of bishops from a time before the council of Arles, although the record of their names is lost. The present dioceses of Wales exactly represent the districts into which that portion of Britain was divided in the sixth century. There is no accurate chronology to guide us respecting that period, but the dates usually assigned to the establishment of the great monasteries, which were deemed the fittest centres of the episcopal government, are as follows:—*Llandaff* about the year 500; *Bangor* and *St. David's* about 540; and *St. Asaph*, A.D. 570. Those sees have each preserved a continuous line of bishops from those dates until the present time. The names of the prelates successively consecrated to the first three are ready to our hand. *Llandaff* had *Dubricius* for its first bishop, who is also known as bishop of *Caerleon*. His successor in the episcopal dignity was *St. David*, now the patron

saint of Wales. St. David is supposed to have been uncle to the renowned *King Arthur*, who gave him permission to remove the bishop's seat from Caerleon to *Menevia*, where he had established a vigorous religious community. The see of Menevia was afterwards called *St. David's* in remembrance of the piety, benevolence, and high intellectual attainments of its first archbishop. St. David received his consecration at the hands of the patriarch of Jerusalem, when on a visit to the Holy Land; and he is also said to have rebuilt the old church at Glastonbury, besides founding many monasteries. The bishopric of Bangor

had *St. Deniol* for its first bishop; and St. Asaph owed its establishment, as we have seen already, to the zeal of *St. Kentigern*. Bangor diocese corresponded in extent with the principality of *Gwynedd*, St. David's with *Dehenbarth*, Llandaff with *Morganwg*, and St. Asaph with *Powis*.



LLANDAFF
CATHEDRAL

8. St. Columba in Scotland.—After the death of St. Patrick the work he had so felicitously commenced in Ireland declined. It was re-invigorated in this way:—*St. Finian of Clonard*, who was indebted to St. David's monastic college at Menevia for his religious training, and to its archbishop for his ordination, established similar communities in Ireland, wherein many earnest men were trained who revived the slumbering energy of the Church there, and from which not a few went forth to preach in other lands. One of them was called



ST. COLUMBA AT ORONSAY.

Columba; he was the son of noble parents, and his work occupies a very prominent position among the Celtic missions. He earned considerable celebrity for scholarship and religious zeal when a pupil of Finian, and was made *abbot of Durrogh*. While visiting his old tutor,

Columba surreptitiously copied a manuscript belonging to his host. When the work was finished, Finian claimed the copy, but the pupil resisted the claim. *Diarmaid*, king of Ulster, a relative of Columba, was asked to arbitrate between them ; and on the strength of the old proverb, "mine is the calf that is born of my cow," the king decided that the copy belonged to the owner of the book. Columba was not pleased at having to give up his hard-earned treasure, and before he left the famous hall of Tara where the king held his court, considered himself still further aggrieved by some violation of tribal rights. In anger he sought the king of Connaught, and instigated him to make war on King Diarmaid, who was defeated. The bishops and abbots held a council at Teltown in Meath, to consider the conduct of Columba, and judged that as he was the cause of all the bloodshed by which many sons were lost to the Church, he should be banished from his native land until he had won from the heathen as many souls to Christ as would replace the number slain in battle. To which decree Columba bowed, and taking with him twelve companions he crossed over to Scotland in a coracle made of wicker-work, and covered with ox hides. Our illustration opposite shows him prospecting from a cliff on the isle of Oronsay ; but as he could still see Ireland he did not feel properly banished, so he went with his companions further north. They landed on a small island separated by a strait from the larger isle of Mull, on the eve of Whit-Sunday, A.D. 565. We call that island *Iona*, it is three miles long and one mile broad. King Connell, a kinsman of Columba, gave him the island to be used for a religious settlement. There a monastery was founded to which the whole of northern Scotland, and the myriad isles surrounding it, owe their first knowledge of Christianity. In every highland valley some hermit from Iona became a witness unto Christ, and even Iceland was not considered too long and dangerous a voyage for their little boats to make. The monastic buildings (see page 25) were at first primitive and inadequate, possibly of twigs and reeds intertwined and cased with mud, but by degrees a complete establishment in harmony with those of older Christian colonies was raised ; and many of the brethren trained therein have, as we shall see, occupied a conspicuous place in the early history of the English Church. The words of its founder spoken a few hours before he died—"To this place, little and poor though it be, there shall come great honour, not only from Scottish kings and people, but from barbarous and foreign nations, and from

the saints of other Churches also"—have been most literally fulfilled. Notwithstanding the share of earthly trials that came upon that sacred spot, it has always been true to the faith it then received, and visitors to Scotland may still worship in the odour of its sanctity. A short time ago the lord of the isle repaired the ruin shown in our illustration, so as to preserve it from further decay. Many other monasteries both in Britain and Ireland trace their origin to Iona, but none of them can wrest the chief place from that in which Columba's bones were laid. We shall hear of it again, for we owe it very much. The kings of Scotland were for many generations crowned by Columba and his successors at Iona, on the stone which now forms part of the English coronation chair, and when they died were buried in the holy isle.



IONA.

9. The British Church in Cornwall.—Meanwhile the Church in West-Wales—that is, Cornwall and Devonshire—was striking its roots no less deeply down. There is very little doubt but that it was planted there in the third century. *Solomon*, its king, in the middle of the fourth century, professed the Faith, and before 401 *Corantinus*, the first Cornish apostle of any note of whom we have

record, had the satisfaction of knowing that almost all the inhabitants of its sea-girt shores were adherents of the cross. His work was continued and consolidated by *Piranus*, an Irishman from Ossory, who brought with him a number of other missionaries, whose pious toil is still bound up and registered in the names of the Cornish towns and villages. So late as the year 1835, an enthusiastic lover of the Church caused to be excavated, at his own cost, from the fine sand near the sea shore, at Perranzabuloe (St. Piran-in-the-sand), a rude but substantial stone building, which archaeologists believe to be the identical church which Cornishmen built over the remains of St. Piranus immediately after his death, which must have been before A.D. 450. The old Celtic tribes in West-Wales seem very soon to have discovered the ruling passion of their Saxon invaders, and to have purchased from Cerdic, by an annual tribute, permission still to continue worshipping Christ after the manner of their fathers.¹

10. Independence of the British Churches.—We have now before us sufficient information to enable us to perceive that the early British Church was not destroyed by the Anglo-Saxon invasion; also that the various offshoots of it in Cornwall, Ireland, and Scotland had such frequent and continuous intercourse as to make them practically all one Church; their doctrines, orders, and customs being identical. And we have arrived at the end of the sixth century. It would be unfair to suppose that these vigorous Christian communi-

¹ The Christian tribes of Cornwall and Devon undoubtedly retained their religious independence until the Saxon king Athelstan forced that part of Britain to submit to the English. That was in 936, in which year the old bishopric of Cornwall had to give place to a new English see at St. Germans; afterwards to be merged into that of Crediton, in Devonshire, A.D. 1042. Eight years later the seats of the bishops of Cornwall and Devon were removed to the city of Exeter. In the year 1876 the ancient see of Cornwall was revived by the creation of the bishopric of Truro. The first bishop of Truro, Dr. Edward White Benson, became the 93rd archbishop of Canterbury, and we can hardly wish for more fitting testimony to the existence of a flourishing Christian community in the south-west corner of Britain, before the archbishopric of Canterbury was created, than the words of a sermon preached by him at Perranzabuloe in August 1878. He said:—"If St. Augustine had gone to Cornwall he would have found there, as many perhaps might suppose, a multitude of heathen people; but then he would have found people holding the full knowledge of the Gospel worshipping there day after day as well as Sunday after Sunday. St. Augustine would have found himself among people who knew and loved the same Gospel which he taught." (See also page 124.)

ties would permit their history to be obliterated at the bidding of the first itinerant missionary who discovered them, and it was but natural that they should earnestly withstand the claims made upon their allegiance by the Italian monks who arrived among their bitterest foes in the year 597. Everything affecting the right of the ancient British Church to an independent existence turns upon the validity of such claims; but there is nothing in history to show that any bishop of or from the city of Rome had previously asserted official supremacy over any ancient churches whose foundation was not traceable to that see. On the contrary, when a patriarch of Constantinople called himself "*Universal Bishop*," Gregory the great, who occupied the see of Rome at the time of which we are about to treat, denied his right to do so, and declared that any bishop who adopted such a title would be nothing better than *Antichrist*. As will presently be seen, the customs of the Celtic Churches were so different from the Italian Church that they cannot even be supposed to have had an identical derivation, except in the remotest ages. It is unfortunate that more

authentic annals respecting early Britain are not available, for ecclesiastical historians, subsequent to the Italian missions, are not free from the suspicion of being personally interested in upholding the claims of the see of Rome to



BRIXWORTH CHURCH.

be "the mother and mistress of all Churches"; and an over-anxiety

is shown to prove that early British saints made pilgrimages to Rome, or received their commissions from its bishop. But if such statements were true, it is difficult to perceive how the customs of the Celtic and Italian Churches could have become so different, when their members were really brought face to face.

11. Architecture of the British churches.—We know very little of what the earliest churches of this country were like, but there are, as we have said, several buildings still standing which antiquarians and local historians attribute to a date anterior to the Anglo-Saxon conquest. Foremost among these they place the basilica church at Brixworth, of which an illustration is given on the opposite page. The basilicas were the Roman halls of justice, and were erected in all large Roman towns. The Britons in building their churches had to imitate something in their architecture, and as the heathen temples of the Romans were not built in a suitable style for Christian worship, it is believed that they followed the plan of the basilicas. It is also conjectured that when the Romans left this country, their halls of justice were converted into Christian churches. The walls and arches of that at Brixworth are said to be an instance of this, but the rest of the church is less ancient. We have at least two other churches still used for public worship in which the Gospel has been preached, and the Sacraments duly administered, with comparatively little interruption, for more than 1400 years. These are the churches of St. Martin at Canterbury and St. Mary in Dover castle; a view of St. Martin's will be found on page 50, and Roman masonry may still be seen in the chancel wall. A portion of St. Mary's, Dover (see page 56), is built of Roman bricks and cement, a combination only found in buildings erected during the occupation of Britain by the imperial legions. From its unique position it has witnessed the invasion of all the races who in turn have made this island their home. They have both, of course, been restored and added to, but that any portion of them exists at all, must be considered a marvellous intervention of providence, seeing that they conclusively prove the existence of Christianity in Roman Britain.

12. Relationship to the Church of England.—Lest it should be thought that a disproportionate space has been devoted herein to Celtic Church history, which at best is very obscure, the reader is reminded of the modern agitation which has for its object the

immediate "disestablishment and disendowment" of the four Welsh dioceses. They are the same now as they always were ; there has been no break in their historic continuity ; they are the oldest dioceses in Great Britain. For centuries they remained independent of and uncontrolled by the English, even when the latter became Christian also ; and although communion and fellowship could not help springing up between Christian Churches, yet the differences of race and language kept the Churches organically distinct until the Celtic tribes were brought under the rule of the Teutons. The relations of the Churches were absolutely determined by the relations of the peoples. We have not referred to early British Christianity with a view of suggesting that it was the root from which English Christianity sprang, which would be wrong ; but because it is important for Englishmen to understand that in due time, and by gradual stages, the ancient British Christianity became *grafted into* the later Anglo-Saxon Church whose origin and growth we are about to relate. The old Church of Britain lived on in Cornwall, Devon, Somerset, and Wales—perfectly distinct—true to the patriotic traditions of the tribes that formed its members. That old Church greatly influenced the evangelization of Ireland and Scotland, whence missionaries subsequently came to help to convert the English ; and long after, when the Saxons conquered the Cornishmen, and still later when the Normans subdued the Welsh, the Churches, like the races, were absorbed into a single community—but *did not cease to live*. Of that union, brought about in times of mutual necessity by the providence of God, there have sprung many children who have been trained "in the fear and nurture of the Lord." Those Christian sons and daughters have built up a great Christian empire, of which their common faith has been the surest bond. The submission of the Celtic bishops to the Norman primates no more did away with the old Celtic Church than the submission of the Celtic chiefs to the Norman kings did away with the old Celtic race. The Britons, with their racial characteristics and speech, remain with us ; and their faith no less so. They brought their ecclesiastical as well as their national history with them when they and the English were made one nation. Mutual advantages, both temporal and spiritual, have been derived from the union all along the ages ; and we have no right to repudiate that history now. Only let all our fellow-countrymen understand that the Church in Wales is part of the ancient Christianity, and there will be very little fear that they will allow it to be injured or despoiled.

CHAPTER IV. (A.D. 597-604)

THE COMING OF AUGUSTINE

"Subjects of Saxon Ælla—they shall sing
Glad Hallelujahs to the eternal King.

Blest be the unconscious shore on which ye tread,
And blest the silver cross, which ye, instead
Of martial banner, in procession bear."

1. Gregory the great.—Towards the close of the sixth century the Christian Church had become an important factor in the government of the world. The city of Rome, once the centre of civilization and refinement, rapidly declined in influence after the government was transferred to Constantinople, no more important person than the bishop remaining in residence; who, by reason of this prominence, became its virtual ruler. When Pope Pelagius II. died in 590, Italy was overrun with barbarians who threatened even the ancient citadel. The inhabitants, feeling that it was necessary for their safety to have a firm and brave man at the head of affairs, chose *Gregory*, the then archdeacon of Rome, as his successor, because he had proved himself to be the possessor of all the sterling qualities of a ruler of men. He did not desire this advancement, but they compelled him to accept it, and very soon, by his boundless liberality, he freed the city from its distressful condition, and made an immortal reputation for himself as the reconstructor of the western Church. Some years before he became bishop of Rome, his attention was directed to Britain.

An oft-quoted tradition, without which no historical notes on the English Church would seem to be complete, is thus translated from Bede's *Ecclesiastical History*.¹ "They say that on a certain day, when, some merchants having lately arrived, many things were collected in the market-place for sale, and many persons had come together to buy, Gregory himself came among the rest, and saw, among other things, some boys put up for sale, of a white body and fair countenance, and also with hair of remarkable beauty. Whom

¹ Mr. Gidley's translation, from which most of the quotations from Bede in this book are taken, is published by James Parker, of Oxford, price 6s.

when he beheld, he asked, as they say, from what region or land they were brought. And it was said that they were brought from the island of Britain whose inhabitants were of such an aspect. Again he asked whether these same islanders were Christians, or still entangled in the errors of paganism; and it was said that they were pagans. Then he, drawing deep sighs from the bottom of his heart, said:—‘Alas for grief! that the author of darkness possesses men of so bright countenance, and that so great grace of aspect bears a mind void of inward grace.’ Then again he asked what was the name of that nation. It was answered, that they were called Angles.

‘It is well,’ he said; ‘for they have an angelic face besides, and such it befits to be the co-heirs of angels in heaven.’ ‘What name has that province from which they are brought?’ It was answered, that the people of that province were called Deiri. ‘Well,’ he said, ‘Deiri, withdrawn from anger and called to the mercy of Christ.’ ‘How is the king of that province called?’ It was answered, that he was called Ælla;



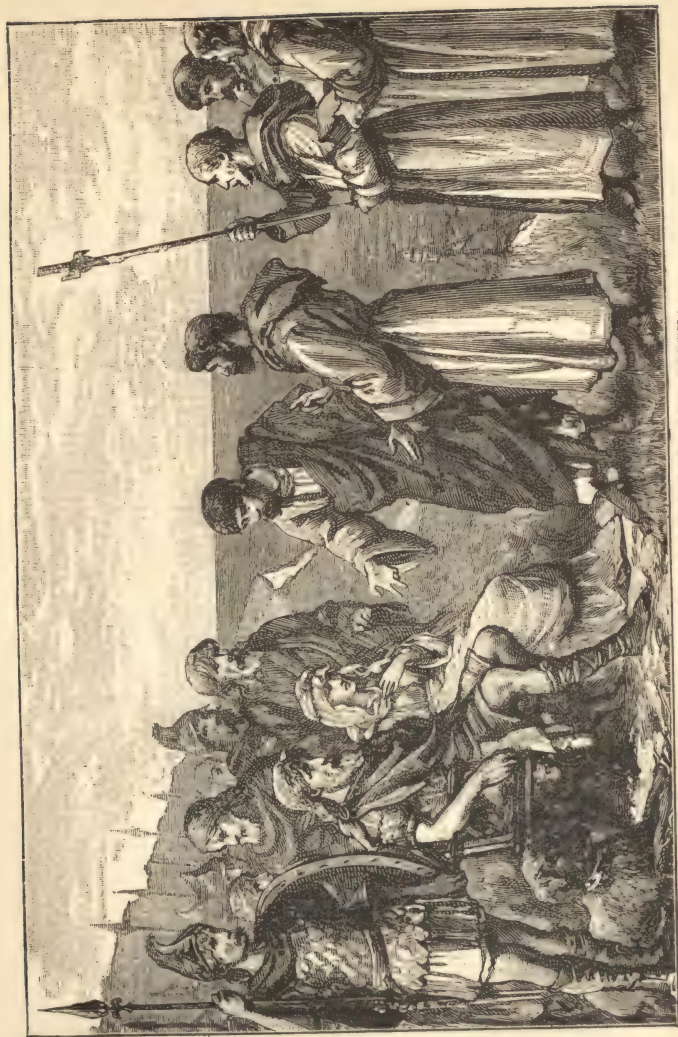
THE ANGLI IN ROME.

then he, alluding to the name, said, ‘Alleluia! it behoves that the praise of God the Creator should be sung in those parts.’ And going

to the pontiff of the Roman and apostolic see (for he was not himself as yet made pontiff) he asked him to send some ministers of the Word into Britain to the nation of the Angles, by whom it might be converted to Christ, saying that he himself was ready to accomplish this work, with the co-operation of the Lord, if the apostolic pope thought fit that it should be done. Which, at that time, he was not able to accomplish, because, although the pontiff was willing to grant him his request, the citizens of Rome could not be induced to consent that he should go so far from the city." But some years after Gregory became pope an opportunity was afforded of sending some monks to Britain under *Augustine*, a man who had gained his good opinion as prior of the Benedictine monastery of St. Andrew, at Rome, which Gregory had established in the year 596.¹ Augustine and forty companions were dispatched on their mission, to a land and people with whose very language even they had no acquaintance; and they lacked the primary condition of missionary zeal, for they had very little confidence in themselves, and no originality of mind. On their way they stayed some time in Provence, at the monastery of Lerins; but the information the brethren there gave them respecting the barbarous Angles caused their hearts to sink within them. Fearful at the idea of having to sojourn with so fierce a race, they sent Augustine back to Rome for permission to abandon the dangerous journey. But Gregory had determined to convert the Angles, and refused to absolve his missionaries from their obligation. *Obedience* was one of the fundamental rules of the Order of St. Benedict, so the monks continued their expedition. Gregory used all his influence to make their way easy. He gave them letters of commendation to the bishops whose dioceses they had to pass through, and, for further encouragement, elevated the little band to the dignity of a distinct and independent monastic brotherhood, with Augustine for their abbot. Whatever might help to arouse their self-respect and courage, he was careful to provide. No expense was spared, and the difficulty of language was lessened by a plentiful supply of interpreters.

¹ The Benedictine order of monks was founded by *St. Benedict of Nursia*, at the beginning of the sixth century, and the rules he framed for their governance became the basis of all monastic discipline until the eleventh century. For several centuries the English bishops who succeeded Augustine assumed the habit and adopted the rule of St. Benedict before their consecration, and in Dunstan's time the same rules were enforced throughout the monasteries in Britain. See page 129.

2. Augustine's arrival in Kent.—Thus equipped they proceeded on their journey, and when passing through Gaul heard reassuring news. *Bertha*, the daughter of Charibert, king of Paris, had been married to *Ethelbert*, king of the Jutes in Kent, on condition that she should be permitted to continue the exercise of the Christian religion in which she had been trained; and *Luidhart*, previously bishop of Senlis, went with her as spiritual adviser. To the Kentish people, therefore, the Italian missionaries found their way, landing on the *Isle of Thanet* in the spring of 597. From thence they sent their homage to the king at Canterbury, who gave them permission to remain there until he decided what course to adopt. He had of course heard of Christianity from *Bertha* and Bishop *Luidhart*, but seemed to think that the miracles recorded of the Saviour and his followers were attributable to witchcraft. For that reason, when he had resolved to give audience to Augustine, he declined to meet them in any house, but invited them to address him in the open air, where he believed the demoniacal spells could have no potency. On the day appointed, the little band of missionaries came before the king and queen in solemn procession. One carried a silver cross, while another bore a picture of the Saviour, and as they advanced they chanted a Gregorian litany. The king was much impressed by the scene. He listened graciously to the speech of Augustine, or rather to the interpreter's translation of it, and then gave them liberty to remain where they had been staying, offering them hospitality and a dwelling-place. He allowed them to preach to such of his people who were willing to listen, but said he could not then personally assent to the new and uncertain doctrines they proclaimed, seeing that by doing so he would have to renounce those which he and his people had for so long believed, in common with all the Anglian tribes. The ultimate acceptance of Christianity by the Kentish court was the result of several conferences between *Ethelbert* and his nobles, who wisely abstained from countenancing such a sweeping reformation, until they were convinced that it would be more beneficial to themselves and the kingdom than their older system of worship. The obvious advantage of establishing friendly intercourse with the rest of Christendom doubtless affected their decision. On Whit-Sunday, 597, *Ethelbert* and his court were baptized. Prior to this, Augustine and his followers had shared in the worship and ministrations conducted by Bishop *Luidhart* in the church of St. Martin (see page 50), east of the city of Canterbury,



AUGUSTINE BEFORE ETHELBERT AND BERTHA.

which had been built by the Britons in the time of the Roman occupation, and which Queen Bertha had rescued from heathen desecration that she might worthily offer her devotions to the Saviour. But when the king accepted Christianity, he gave Augustine permission to preach in all parts of his dominion, and to rebuild and restore the ruined British churches which abounded in Kent (see page 41). Such is the tradition of the introduction of the Gospel to the Jutes, the first of the Anglo-Saxon tribes that invaded Britain.

3. The first archbishop of Canterbury.—Augustine was as yet only an abbot, and therefore was not empowered to ordain men to the work of the ministry which was necessary for carrying on a Christian mission successfully. Only a bishop has such power, and a bishop must be consecrated by other bishops. Therefore, when he had given instructions to his companions respecting the preaching and rebuilding, Augustine went over to Gaul (not to Rome) to obtain episcopal authority, and was consecrated "*bishop of the Angles*" by *Vergilius*, bishop of Arles, and *Ætherius*, bishop of Lyons. His



ARMS OF CANTERBURY.

consecration gave him no such jurisdiction over the bishops in Wales as he afterwards claimed ; indeed it was not until the year 601 that he received from the bishop of Rome the *pallium*,¹ or pall, which constituted him "*Archbishop and metropolitan*" of the Angles, in pursuance of a scheme which Gregory had in his mind for restoring the old provincial sees of Britain, viz. an archbishop for *York* and another for *London*, with twelve suffragan or assistant bishops in each of those provinces. Augustine, although bishop of Canterbury, was the first of such metropolitan bishops, but it was understood that the bishopric of London should be restored, and become the chief see on the death of Augustine. Gregory promised to send another pall to York whenever the archbishopric should be

¹ The pall was a white woollen collar, with pendants behind and before, made from the wool of lambs that had been blessed by the pope on St. Agnes' Day, and embroidered with purple crosses. A representation of one appears on the arms of the see of Canterbury. The pall was not at first an ecclesiastical vestment, but part of the imperial insignia with which Constantine the great had decorated the patriarchs of various Churches, and permitted their successors to retain.

revived there, and, to prevent any further need of bishops elect travelling to the continent for consecration, he arranged that, when either should die, the surviving metropolitan might ordain a successor to the vacant see. That grand scheme, owing to circumstances Gregory could not foreknow, was only in part fulfilled. By the time Augustine returned from Gaul, his monks had succeeded in winning the hearts of the Kentish folk, and on Christmas-day the sacrament of Baptism, at that time only celebrated by the Church on the great Christian festivals, was administered to over 10,000 persons who assembled for that purpose at the fording-place of the *Swale*, which divides the isle of Sheppey from the mainland of Kent. By that time the work of building



MINSTER CHURCH, ISLE OF SHEPPEY.

and restoring churches was in full progress, and one of the churches so restored was without doubt the church of St. Mary in Dover castle (see page 56). There was another old church in ruins at Canterbury, near the royal palace which King Ethelbert had given to Augustine for an episcopal residence. This church Augustine repaired, consecrating it to the "*Holy Saviour, God, and our Lord Jesus Christ,*" and close beside it he built a habitation for himself and those who should succeed him. That was the beginning of Canterbury cathedral, which is still called Christ's-church. The only remains of the original church is the venerable seat, still known as "*St. Augustine's Chair,*" in which for many generations archbishops of Canterbury have been enthroned. Between Christ's-church and St. Martin's church there was another

British church, not then in ruins, which had been used by Ethelbert as a temple for the worship of his pagan idols. This also was made over to Augustine, dedicated to *St. Pancras* (page 31), and used for Christian services. It had long been the practice to set apart land in the neighbourhood of churches and temples for the maintenance of the ministry thereof, and the lands belonging to these old churches were transferred with the building, so that this granting of churches, and the lands connected with them, to the missionaries was not really a new endowment, but only a restitution to God of that which had originally been devoted to His service by the Britons, and alienated from that holy purpose by their Anglo-Saxon conquerors (see page 32).



ST. MARTIN'S CHURCH, CANTERBURY.

4. Correspondence with St. Gregory.—The conversion of Kent was now assured, and the Church there in a fair way to successful development. Augustine then began to consider his relationship to the other bishops, in Gaul on the one hand, and among the Welsh on the other. Presently he sent *Laurentius* and *Peter*, two of his companions, with important letters to Gregory, in which he reported the

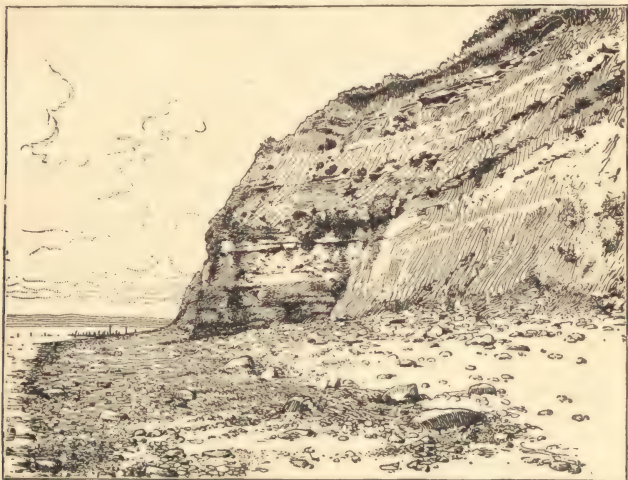
successful progress of his mission, asked advice on various matters, and requested that additional helpers might be sent to him. Two of his questions are of great importance to our inquiry. The first was:—"Why should there be different liturgies in use in Gaul and Britain to those in Rome?" and Gregory in effect replied that there was no harm in this, and Augustine might select from each such things as he thought best adapted to the minds and customs of his new converts. The second question was as follows:—"How ought we to act towards the bishops of Gaul and Britain?" To which Gregory sent answer thus:—"We assign no authority to you over the bishops of Gaul, but we commit all the bishops of Britain to you, my brother, that the unlearned may be taught, the infirm strengthened by persuasion, and the perverse corrected by authority." This advice was a most unwarrantable assumption of authority on Gregory's part, and a breach of the decrees of the *General Council of Ephesus*, A.D. 431, which stipulated "that no bishop shall occupy another province which has not been subject to him from the beginning." Now none of Gregory's predecessors had asserted any supremacy over the British Church, and this is the first record we have of an assertion of superiority by a bishop of Rome over other provincial churches. Augustine sent his messengers to Rome in the spring of the year 598, but it was not until 601 that they returned. They were accompanied hither by a number of other clergy whom Gregory had selected to co-operate with Augustine. Three of these, *Mellitus*, *Justus*, and *Paulinus*, subsequently occupied positions of very great importance. And they brought with them, "for the worship and ministry of the church, holy vessels and altar vestments, ornaments also for the churches and priestly garments, relics, too, of the apostles and martyrs, and a number of books."¹ By the time this reinforcement arrived, Augustine had gained full particulars of the British ecclesiastics and they of him. As soon, therefore, as he had received the above instructions, he arranged for a conference with the Welsh.

5. Augustine and the British bishops.—The resistance of the British Church to the demands of Augustine is the first of a long series of protests on the part of Christians in Britain against

¹ Here we see the ancient character of ritual ornaments, about which there have been many heart-burnings even in the Victorian era, but as they were not a cause of dissension in the controversy with the Celtic bishops, we may infer that there was nothing unusual about them.

papal supremacy, so that, when the Church of this country is said to be "*protestant*," we ought not to understand that it has objected to papal influence over it from the times of the Tudor kings only, but that it has never willingly allowed to the bishops of Rome any legal jurisdiction over Churchmen in this realm. The Welsh and Anglo-Saxon tribes being still in deadly feud, owing to the natural antipathies of race, the Christian teachers of Wales feared to venture among their mortal foes without some guarantee for security ; so King Ethelbert, who, as *Bretwalda*, had considerable influence over the Saxon kings, obtained for Augustine the privilege of holding the conference on the confines of the kingdom of Wessex, where the river Severn divided it from Wales. There is a place called *Aust Cliff*, after *Austin*, another name for Augustine, which is supposed to be the scene of the assembly. It is known as the "*Synod of the Oak*," because Augustine met the representatives of the British Church under the spreading branches of an oak tree. Augustine's avowed object at this meeting was to test the willingness of the Britons to unite their forces with his in the conversion of the Teutons. But there were several points of divergence to be discussed before the two parties could work in harmony. Chief among them was the question, "When should *Easter-day* be kept?" a subject which is still important enough to occupy several of the introductory pages of our Prayer-book. There had been great diversity of opinion among Christians on the question. In north-west Europe it had only been settled a short time before Augustine came here, so that his mind was full of it. He found the Britons still holding to the old western rule laid down at the council of Arles, A.D. 314, by which they kept the fourteenth day of the paschal moon if it were a Sunday, as *Easter-day*. This had been the practice of the Christians at Rome also, but they had given it up for the sake of agreement with the patriarchal see of *Alexandria*, which, by a decree of the council of Nicæa, had the right to determine the Sunday that should be observed. Its decision was, that when the fourteenth day of the paschal moon fell upon a Sunday, *Easter-day* must be the Sunday after. The British Church had not heard of this change of custom on the part of the Roman Church, and refused to give up their old practice without further consideration. Another point of disagreement was the use of the *tonsure* ; that is, the fashion by which the monks and clergy shaved their heads. The Roman clergy and Benedictine monks cut their hair in the form of a crown ; the Britons wore theirs in

the shape of a crescent. And then there was the custom of a *triple immersion in Baptism*. The Romans dipped the candidates first on the right side, and then on the left, the third time with the face downwards. The Britons were content with a single immersion in the name of the Holy Trinity. No question of doctrine was propounded; only these matters of minor detail. But the underlying principle was the right of Augustine to impose new conditions upon an undoubtedly apostolic and orthodox Church, and the Britons refused to acknowledge his right to interfere with their time-honoured usages and customs. It is said that Augustine had recourse to



AUST CLIFFE, SEVERN ESTUARY, GLOUCESTERSHIRE.

miraculous evidence in support of his claim, but the marvellous had little effect on the Britons' sense of right. They stipulated for a second meeting which should be larger and more representative. That gave them time for fuller consideration of the great issues involved. To Augustine's question, whether they would help him to evangelize the Saxons? they made this significant answer, "We do not think it worthy to preach to that cruel people who have treacherously slain our ancestors and robbed us of our just and lawful property." Bede tells us that before the second conference they inquired from one of

their most holy men who lived the life of a recluse, whether they ought to forsake their traditions at the bidding of Augustine. His reply was, "If he be a man of God, follow him." They said, "And how can we ascertain this?" Then he replied, "The Lord saith, 'Take My yoke upon you, and learn of Me, for I am meek and lowly in heart.' If, therefore, this Augustine is meek and lowly in heart, it is credible that both he himself bears the yoke of Christ, and offers it to you to bear; but if he is stern and proud, it is evident that he is not of God, and that his discourse ought not to be regarded by us." And they again said, "And how can we discern even this?" "Contrive," said he, "that he and his people may come first to the place of the synod; and if, at your approach, he rise up to you, hear him with submission, knowing that he is a servant of Christ; but if he slight you, and will not rise up in your presence, when you are more in number, let him also be disregarded by you." Unfortunately for the claims of Romanists, Augustine adopted a very haughty demeanour. The British deputation was a large one. Seven bishops attended, accompanied by many learned men from the famous monastery of *Bangor on the Dee*, but Augustine neglected to rise and bid them welcome. This was enough; "He could not have the spirit of Christ," and they refused to yield. They would observe none of his customs nor accept him as their chief, for "If he would not rise up to us just now, how much more will he despise us, if we begin to be subject to him." *Dinnoth*, one of their number, explained, that although they owed fraternal love to the Church of God, and the bishop of Rome, and indeed to all Christians, they owed no other obedience to him whom Augustine called *Pope*. Another reason why they could not submit to him or his representative was, that they were already subject to the metropolitan bishop of *Caelemon-on-Usk*, who was, under God, their spiritual overseer. Whereupon Augustine added to his discourtesy a public threat of violence:—"If they will not accept peace with their brethren," said he, "they should receive war from their enemies, and if they would not preach the way of life to the nation of the Angles, they should suffer at their hands the vengeance of death."¹ But we have seen² that the Celtic Christians were not devoid of the true missionary spirit, although they were still forced to

¹ Nine years after Augustine died the monks of *Bangor-is-y-coed* were massacred by order of the Anglian king Ethelfrid; and this was thought by some to give a prophetic significance to the archbishop's angry retort.

² Pages 26 and 36.

maintain a defensive attitude against the aggressive designs of their conquerors ; and, in the years that were coming, their missions played a larger part in the re-establishment of the Faith in their fatherland, amongst their present persecutors, than did the missions of Augustine, which soon experienced the truth of that which the Welsh had declared, respecting the barbarous nature of Anglo-Saxon paganism.

6. The death of Augustine.—The archbishop of Canterbury returned in great mortification to his work among the Kentish people, and did not live to extend it far beyond that kingdom. Acting on Gregory's instructions, he sent Mellitus to the adjoining kingdom of the *East-Saxons* to revive the ancient see of *London*, but that mission had a very short existence. Justus was consecrated bishop of *Rochester* in the same year, and divided with Augustine the supervision of Kent. To both those new enterprises King Ethelbert gave munificently of his private substance to build and endow the necessary churches, the estate of Tillingham, Essex, being one of his gifts to St. Paul's, London, which still forms part of the endowment for the cathedral maintenance. Ethelbert also built for St. Augustine's monastery a magnificent abbey church, in honour of St. Peter and St. Paul, which was intended to become the resting-place for all that was mortal of the archbishops of Canterbury and the kings of Kent. Augustine laid the foundations of it, but did not survive to witness its completion. When he felt that his end was approaching, he consecrated his friend Laurentius to be his successor. He ought not to have done so, because the council of Nicæa forbade the existence of two bishops for the same



ROCHESTER CATHEDRAL WEST DOOR.

see at one time ; and another council, held at *Antioch* in 346, decreed that no bishop should be allowed to consecrate his successor. Bede says he was driven to do so, "in fear lest the unsettled Church might totter and fall if left destitute of a bishop even for an hour." But the events that transpired justified his action. The extent of Augustine's work and influence was described on his tomb.—"Here rests Augustine, first lord archbishop of Canterbury, who, formerly directed hither by the blessed Gregory, pontiff of the city of Rome, and sustained by God in the working of miracles, brought over King Ethelbert and his nation from the worship of idols to the faith of Christ, and having completed the days of his office in peace, deceased on the 7th day of the kalends of June in the same king's reign." Beyond what is there recorded, it cannot be maintained that his efforts had any lasting effect in Britain, except that his coming here revived an intercourse between our country and the Christian world which the Anglo-Saxon invasion had caused to be suspended for 150 years. He was buried temporarily in a burial-ground by the public road, according to the usage of the time ; but when King Ethelbert

had finished building the abbey church the remains were becomingly interred in the north porch. That monastic foundation continued to exist side by side with the cathedral foundation, and sometimes in rivalry with it, until the sixteenth century, when the monastery passed into secular hands. Through recent enterprise of munificent churchmen, the abbey buildings have been recently restored to religious uses as a habitation for St. Augustine's missionary college. No one will grudge St. Augustine the honour due to him as the first preacher to the Jutes in Kent, where his work, though severely threatened by reverses after the death of his patron Ethelbert, has continued to this day.



ROMAN LIGHTHOUSE, AND PART OF ST. MARY'S CHURCH, DOVER.

CHAPTER V. (A.D. 604-681)

THE CONVERSION OF "ENGLAND"

"And when, subjected to a common doom
Of mutability, those far-famed piles
Shall disappear from both the sister isles,
Iona's saints, forgetting not past days,
Garlands shall wear of amaranthine bloom,
While heaven's vast sea of voices chant their praise."

1. Unsuccessful Italian missions.—Our next business is to inquire how the rest of the country which we now call England heard about the Christian faith. Laurentius, the successor of Augustine in the see of Canterbury, endeavoured to conciliate the Celtic Church by writing to the Irish bishops as his "most dear lords and brothers," and Dagan, one of the Irish bishops, journeyed to Canterbury to discuss a basis of agreement; but the Benedictine monks heaped such ridicule upon him, because he wore a different tonsure to themselves, that he refused to eat or lodge in the same house with them, and returned home exceedingly angry. Thenceforward, for half a century, the Churches continued to work independently. The kings of East-Anglia and Essex were nephews of King Ethelbert, and he persuaded them both to receive Christian teachers. King *Redwald*, of East-Anglia, does not appear to have himself become a convert; but he tolerated the faith in his province, for he had Christian altars and heathen idols side by side in the same temples. But *Sebert*, king of the East-Saxons, was baptized, and welcomed Mellitus as his bishop in the year 604. London was then one of the strongholds of paganism, for heathen deities were worshipped in temples where St. Paul's cathedral and Westminster-abbey now stand. By the liberality of Ethelbert those temples were restored and used for Christian purposes; for Gregory had written in a letter to Mellitus that as it would be impossible to cut off all things at once from the rude pagan minds, the heathen temples should not be destroyed, but cleansed and dedicated to God, the idols replaced by Christian relics, and Christian services substituted for idolatrous sacrifices on the principal anniversaries. Sebert died about 616, and was succeeded by his three sons, who repudiated the Christian religion. They attempted to profane the

sacraments by demanding to receive the eucharistic elements, but Mellitus explained that "the bread of life was reserved for those who had received the water of life." As they refused to be baptized, they drove the bishop from his see, and the land at once went back to heathenism. Ethelbert, king of Kent, died about the same time as Sebert, and *Eadbald* his son, like Sebert's sons, renounced the Christian faith, while the people, just as they had before followed the example of the king and court in receiving Christianity, now imitated them in the rejection of it. Thereupon, Justus, bishop of Rochester, preferred voluntary exile in Gaul with Mellitus, bishop of London, than a possible martyrdom at his post. Truly, they could no longer sneer at the Celtic bishops for neglecting to convert their traditional enemies! Even the archbishop of Canterbury was preparing to follow them, and the mission of Augustine was on the point of being extinguished, when Laurentius dreamed that St. Peter flogged him for his cowardice. He, therefore, decided to stand his ground, and Eadbald, the king, was so pleased by his constancy that he became a warm supporter of the cause, thus saving Kent from the apostasy that came upon Essex.

2. Paulinus in Northumbria.—On the death of Ethelbert the rank of Bretwalda devolved on *Edwin, king of Northumbria*, and the influence of Kent waned rapidly. Edwin desired to marry *Ethelburga*, daughter of Ethelbert and Queen Bertha, but Eadbald, being now a Christian, would not let his sister go to the north unless, like her mother, she was allowed to worship Christ in her new home. Edwin not only agreed to this, but signified his willingness to adopt Christianity himself if he found the religion of his consort better than his own. The missionary chosen to accompany the young queen was *Paulinus*, whom Gregory had sent from Rome to help Augustine. He was consecrated bishop (A.D. 626) by Justus, who was now archbishop, and in a very little time, by Ethelburga's aid he obtained sufficient influence over Edwin to cause that prince to assemble the *Witan*, or council of wise men, for the purpose of discussing the merits of Christianity. Some civilities on the part of the bishop of Rome greatly helped to strengthen the hands of Paulinus. Boniface V. sent letters to Edwin and his queen, as Gregory had done to Ethelbert and Bertha, together with some simple presents—garments for the king, a comb and looking-glass for Ethelburga. Courtesies of this kind are never thrown away. We are favoured with a full account of



WEST FRONT OF YORK MINSTER (*see next page*).

the proceedings of the Witan by the Venerable Bede, who was himself a Northumbrian, and may have met with persons who were present. The king explained the object for which he had called them together, and asked *Coifi*, the heathen high priest, to speak his mind. *Coifi* argued that the new religion could hardly be less profitable to them than the one they had adhered to for so long. One of the nobles said he would be glad to accept Christianity if it could tell them more about a future life than their old religion did, and this sentiment most of the nobles echoed. Paulinus then addressed the Witan, and with such success that *Coifi* suggested the immediate demolition of the heathen temples, and forthwith commenced it with his own hands. The king and his court having gone through the necessary course of instruction as catechumens, were baptized on Easter eve, A.D. 627. When the people heard that the wise men had accepted Christianity they also readily listened to its preachers, the result being that, like Augustine, Paulinus is said to have baptized 10,000 persons in one day. The king gave him a grant of land in the city of York, and built a temporary church of wood until a more durable one of stone could be erected. This was dedicated to St. Peter, and became the bishop's cathedral, thus reviving the ancient see of York in accordance with the plan of Gregory the great. The kingdom of Northumbria over which Edwin ruled, extended from the river Humber to the firth of Forth, and was divided into two provinces by the river Tees. The northern province was called *Bernicia*, and the southern one *Deira*. York was in the latter, therefore to Paulinus belongs the honour of being the first preacher of the Word of Life to the Anglian tribe, whose children had attracted the attention of Gregory in the market-place of Rome. For six years Paulinus and his companions worked earnestly for the cause of Christ throughout the dominions of Edwin, and was instrumental in persuading *Eorpwald*, the king of East-Anglia, to become a Christian. But the nobles of East-Anglia were not disposed to follow the king's lead, and to prevent the establishment of Christianity, they put *Eorpwald* to death. Paulinus also built a stone church at Lincoln, in which, A.D. 630, he consecrated *Honorius* to be the fifth archbishop of Canterbury. In the year 633 the pope of Rome, who was also called *Honorius*, decided, as we see by a letter which he sent to Edwin, to recognize the work of Paulinus by sending to him the archiepiscopal pall. But before the pope's ambassadors could reach Britain, Edwin was dead, Paulinus had fled, Northumbria

was in ruins, and Christianity had been proscribed ! Let us consider the reason for this sudden and terrible change. What we call the midlands was then the kingdom of the *Mercians*, i.e. men of the "march" or border. It was governed by a fierce barbarian whose name was *Penda*. He saw in the onward march of Christianity the death sentence of paganism, so he nerved himself for a desperate struggle on behalf of his Teuton divinities. He made war upon Northumbria, and killed King Edwin in battle, the rival religions furnishing the war-cries. In Penda's victory Paulinus perceived that an evil day had come for Christ's religion in the north. He knew too that his work there had been in vain. Hurriedly gathering together what treasures he could, the precious altar furniture and gold eucharist chalice, taking with him also Queen Ethelburga and her children, he fled with his clergy to the kingdom of Kent to wait the issues of the time.



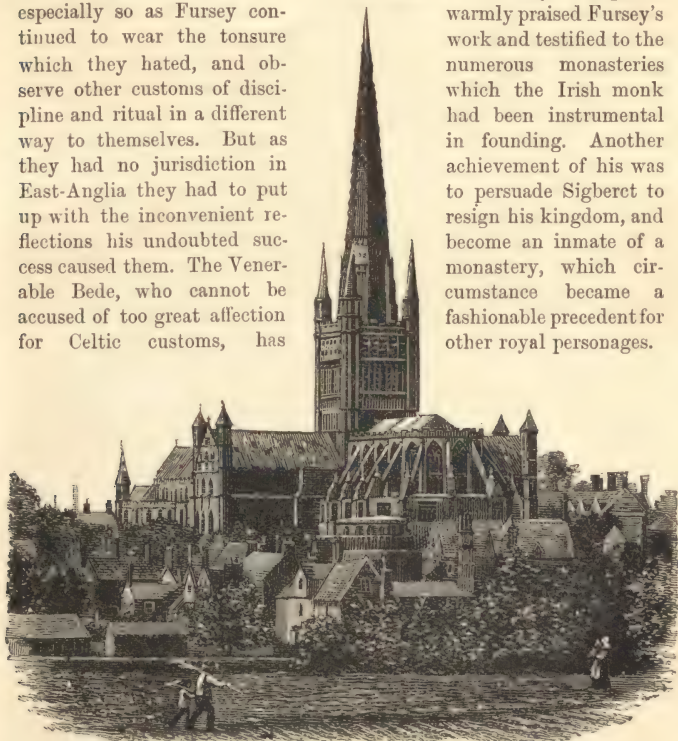
After their departure Northumbria relapsed into paganism, only one man, the deacon James who taught the people how to sing the chants of Gregory, remaining in the kingdom to keep a lamp burning for the Saviour. Paulinus, on his arrival in Kent, was appointed by

Honorius of Canterbury to the bishopric of Rochester, which had been vacant a long time. Here he remained until he died, so that the work of the Augustinian missionaries among the Anglo-Saxons was again restricted to the kingdom of Kent. Truly, a strange fatality pursued them ! The Celtic bishops, in withholding their energies for quieter times, showed the greater wisdom ; for they were now about to spread their missions over all those parts of Britain which the Italian teachers had been unable to subdue, and wherever they went their missions abided. On returning to Kent, Queen Ethelburga is said to have founded a nunnery in the Roman villa allotted to her use, and it is supposed that the Roman and Saxon masonry in the parish church of Lyminge, Kent (page 61), is a survival of her foundation.

3. Conversion of East-Anglia.—The popes of Rome, however, were not to be denied in their efforts to establish missions in Britain. They were well aware of the slow progress made by the Canterbury monks, and to facilitate the conversion of such parts of the country as were still heathen, they gave other missionaries permission to work independently of that see, in the kingdoms of *Wessex* and *East-Anglia*. We have seen that the kings Ethelbert and Edwin both endeavoured to plant the Faith in the latter province, but without success. Three years after the murder of Eorpwald, *Sigbert*, his half-brother, became king. He had been an exile in Gaul for fear of a like assassination. Whilst there he embraced the Christian faith, and determined that all his subjects should have the same privilege offered to them. For this purpose he invited to his court a Burgundian bishop, called *Felix*, whose name is still revered in Norfolk and Suffolk as the “apostle of East-Anglia.” The town of *Felixstowe* is so named in his honour. Felix had heard of the unsuccessful efforts of Augustine’s band, and knew that East-Anglians would not receive a Christian teacher under the auspices of Canterbury alone, so he went to Rome in the year 630, and obtained the pope’s sanction for a separate mission. To prevent disagreement, Honorius I. sent a letter to his namesake at Canterbury, explaining the conditions of the new appointment, and Felix was the bearer of it. These preliminaries settled, Felix set to work right earnestly and achieved a remarkable and lasting success. He fixed his residence at *Dunwich* (which was in time transferred to *Norwich*), caused many churches to be built, and established schools. He was greatly assisted in his undertaking by

*Furse*y, a monk belonging to a Scotie family (*see footnote*, page 20), who came with a number of companions from Ireland, and so captivated the Northfolk and Southfolk by earnest preaching, that Christianity at once took a firmer root than it had yet done among the Anglo-Saxon tribes. That is the first instance of the union of forces between the Celtic and continental Christian teachers. The monks of Canterbury were sorely grieved when they heard of Felix working side by side with a representative of the British Church which they so despised, especially so as Fursey continued to wear the tonsure which they hated, and observe other customs of discipline and ritual in a different way to themselves. But as they had no jurisdiction in East-Anglia they had to put up with the inconvenient reflections his undoubted success caused them. The Venerable Bede, who cannot be accused of too great affection for Celtic customs, has

warmly praised Fursey's work and testified to the numerous monasteries which the Irish monk had been instrumental in founding. Another achievement of his was to persuade Sigberet to resign his kingdom, and become an inmate of a monastery, which circumstance became a fashionable precedent for other royal personages.



THE CATHEDRAL OF EAST-ANGLIA (NORWICH).

King Sigberet was succeeded by *Anna*, who largely increased the number and extent of the Christian buildings and their endowments, as did many of the nobles. The schools of Felix provided him with the material for training native clergy, and one of his scholars succeeded him in the episcopate. The name of this scholar was *Thomas*. He was made bishop of Dunwich in 647. He was therefore the first Anglian (Englishman) who became a bishop.¹ From that time the Church in East-Anglia contained within itself the means of extending and developing the faith, without having recourse to the continent for religious teachers.

4. The Celtic mission in Northumbria.—There was, as we have said, another Roman mission equally independent of the Church in Kent, established among the West-Saxons, but before explaining fully the circumstances of its settlement, we must turn our thoughts again to the kingdom of Northumbria, from which Paulinus had retired. After Edwin had been killed in battle by Penda, the provinces of Deira and Bernicia became separate kingdoms. *Osric*, a cousin of Edwin, ruled over the former, Bernicia falling to the share of *Eanfrid*, son of Ethelfrid who had preceded Edwin as king. There was a little son of Edwin, whom Paulinus had taken to Kent, but he was too young to be elected king in those troublous times. These two young men, Osric and Eanfrid, hoping to conciliate the heathen Penda, both repudiated Christianity, and their land became heathen once more. But Penda was not satisfied with the victories he had already gained, he wanted to make Northumbria entirely subject to himself as a part of *Mercia*, and he made war upon the two Northumbrian kings. We are sorry to have to say that he was helped by *Cadwalla*, one of the Welsh kings, who, as a Christian, ought not to have allied himself with the pagan king. Penda and Cadwalla fought against and killed Osric and Eanfrid. Now Eanfrid had two brothers, *Oswald* and *Oswy*. Long before, when Edwin defeated and slew their father Ethelfrid and took away their kingdom, these three young princes, Eanfrid, Oswald, and Oswy, fled to Scotland, and took refuge in the island of *Iona*, and were sheltered and educated by the Celtic Christian missionaries there. Eanfrid as eldest son was too busy plotting to regain his father's throne to think about any religion, but Oswald and Oswy listened to the monks of Iona, and embraced Christianity.

¹ Ithamar, a Kentishman but not an *Angle*, was consecrated in 644.

When the princes Eanfrid and Osric were defeated and killed, the throne of Northumbria belonged to Oswald; so he raised a small army, put his trust in the Christians' God, and defeated the Mercian and Welsh allies, and killed Cadwalla. Having thus recovered the whole of Northumbria, he set about restoring Christianity. But Oswald did not ask Paulinus to come back, that could not be unless Edwin's little son *Oswine* were made king, and in Iona he would have heard of the ill-feeling between the Kentish Christians and those who had been so good to his family. No; Paulinus, although bishop of York, must not return. Was there anything more natural for Oswald, under the circumstances, than to ask his kind friends of Iona to send him



LINDISFARNE PRIORY RUINS BEFORE 1860.

a Christian teacher? This he did, but the man they sent was not fit for the work; he was stern and unbending, as was likely from the discipline he had undergone, but the people were also determined, and he could make no progress with them. Overwhelmed with disappointment he returned to those who had sent him, and, as he told the story

of his failure, one of the brethren said :—"Methinks, brother, thou hast been harsher than was needful to thy untaught hearers. Hast thou not forgotten the maxim of the apostle about 'milk for babes,' that by degrees they may be nourished by the divine word, and enabled to receive the more perfect and keep the higher precepts of God?" The speaker was *Aidan*, and the monks of Iona agreed that he was the man to be sent to King Oswald's people. The Celtic bishops consecrated him to the episcopal dignity, and in the summer of 635 he arrived in Northumbria. Not, however, to settle in York, and continue the work of Paulinus; but to found an entirely new community identical with that from which he had come. King Oswald gave him for that purpose the small island of *Lindisfarne*, now called *Holy Island*, situated on the north-east coast, a few miles south of the river Tweed. There a church and monastery were built, and, as in East-Anglia, schools and colleges for the training of missionaries who could speak the Anglian tongue. That was a most important step, for even Aidan could not speak the English language, King Oswald himself having to interpret to his subjects the missionary's discourses. The men thus trained were soon in great demand, and by their means the monastic settlement of Lindisfarne was able to introduce the Celtic customs and the rule of Iona over the greater part of Britain, among tribes who refused to hear Welsh or Italian preaching.

5. The conversion of Wessex.—We may now turn to the kingdom of Wessex. There was a monk in Gaul named *Birinus*, who had heard of the independent mission of Felix in East-Anglia, and desired to obtain a similar privilege for the evangelization of some other Saxon colony. Pope Honorius granted his prayer on condition that Birinus would promise to go only to those parts of Britain where Augustine's band had never attempted to preach. He accepted the conditions, and was consecrated as a missionary bishop by *Asterius*, bishop of Genoa. He landed on the south-west coast in 634. The West-Saxons among whom he found himself were wild untutored folk, but with true missionary zeal he laboured earnestly for their temporal and spiritual welfare, until by degrees he won his way to the favour of Cynegils the king. To the court of Cynegils came Oswald of Northumbria seeking to marry a West-Saxon princess. That royal convert to the Celtic methods joined with Birinus, the Italian, in an effort to make a Christian of the Wessex king, and in due time they

were successful. Oswald became at once the godfather and son-in-law of Cynegils, for, as Bede quaintly observes :—"The victorious king of the Northumbrians received him on his coming forth from the laver, and by an alliance most delightful and pleasing to God, adopted for his son him who had before been dedicated to God by a new birth, and whose daughter he was about to take to wife." This happened



SHERBORNE MINSTER (*see next page*).

A.D. 636, at Dorchester in Oxfordshire, where the rivers Thame and Isis meet, both kings giving land to Birinus for the support of the episcopal seat which they founded for him there. The nobles and people soon followed the example of their king. They were not only baptized, but they gave freely of their substance for the building of churches. There is nothing to show that Birinus ever had any official communication with the Church of Kent, or that it took any interest

in his work. In 643 Cenwalch, son of Cynegils, succeeded to the throne of Wessex, and, like many another of the Anglo-Saxon princes, was not at first favourably disposed to the new teaching; perhaps this was because he had married Penda's sister. For some reason he put away his wife, which highly incensed the Mercian king, who marched against Cenwalch at the head of an army. Cenwalch was defeated and fled to the court of East-Anglia, where Anna was king. When he saw how Christianity had improved Anna's province he changed his mind respecting it, and on being restored to his own kingdom he became an ardent supporter of the faith. Agilbert had by this time succeeded Birinus at Dorchester; but because he could not speak the vernacular, Cenwalch founded another see at *Winchester* (see page 83), appointing as bishop the Saxon *Wini*, who went to Gaul for consecration. Agilbert objected to the creation of another bishopric in the same kingdom, and retired to France in anger. There he became archbishop of Paris. In 706 the see was again divided, Sherborne-abbey being made a cathedral. Thus the West-Saxons were made Christians, and when, in after years, their kingdom obtained supremacy over all the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms, it became the greatest stronghold of Christianity.

6. Conversion of the Middle-Angles.—In the meantime many civil changes had occurred in the north which promoted the spread of Christianity in another direction. Oswald was killed in battle by Penda, A.D. 642, and Northumbria was again divided. *Oswy*, the youngest of the three princes who came from Iona, reigned in Bernicia, and *Oswine*, son of Edwin, the young prince whom Paulinus had taken to Kent for safety, reigned in Deira. Very soon Oswy caused Oswine to be treacherously murdered. That left him sole king of the north. When the heinousness of his guilt was pointed out to him he repented bitterly, and showed his sincerity by building and richly endowing a monastery. Penda, king of Mercia, was now growing old; and, not knowing what might befall him in his numerous wars, he made his son *Peada* king over the southern portion of his province. This was called the kingdom of the *Middle-Angles*. About A.D. 650, Oswy thought that the strife between Northumbria and Mercia might be allayed by matrimonial alliance, so he married his son to Penda's daughter. Peada also sought to marry *Alchfleda*, Oswy's daughter, but Oswy would not permit this without some guarantee that she would be allowed to continue a worshipper of

Christ. Peada's position as king of the Middle-Angles gave him more frequent opportunities of becoming acquainted with Christians than he had when following the fortunes of his heathen father in battle; he was therefore easily persuaded, not only to allow Alchfleda to worship in the way she had been trained by the Celtic monks of Lindisfarne, but also to be himself baptized, and welcome to his kingdom a company of priests from Aidan's college. The selected monks were *Diuna*, a Scot, and three Englishmen, named *Adda*, *Betti*, and *Cedd*, all of whom were thoroughly successful in their labours. The conversion of his son was a sore trial to the pagan king, although, to do him justice, it was not so much the Christian faith that he objected to, as the indifferent lives of some who professed it.



ST. PAUL'S CATHEDRAL (*see page 71*).

7. Conversion of the East-Saxons.—The next province won for Christ by the Lindisfarne preachers, with whom the tide of success now flowed freely, was Essex. We have seen (page 57) that

through the influence of Ethelbert it had received a company of teachers under bishop Mellitus, and had relapsed into heathenism. After thirty-seven years the faith was once more planted in London, this time not to be again uprooted. *Sigberet*, king of the East-Saxons—we must not confuse him with the East-Anglian prince of the same name—made frequent visits to Oswy in the north, and observed the work of the Christian clergy. He became a convert, and asked the monks of Lindisfarne to send missionaries to his subjects, but the very rapid extension of their field of labour caused a dearth of suitable men for new districts. The twelve young men whom Aidan had trained were all at work in different provinces, and there were not any others quite ready for so important a mission. It was not that the authorities of Lindisfarne were in want of means or volunteers, because it was a recognized duty for each convert to give of his labour, or his substance either in lands or produce, to God “in exchange for his soul;” but the college could not produce with sufficient rapidity trained men on whom they could confidently rely, and Essex was so close to Kent that it was all the more necessary to send a judicious man. Bishop Finan therefore recalled *Cedd* from the Middle-Angles, and sent him to Sigberet’s kingdom. He had only one additional priest with him when he re-established Christian services where St. Paul’s cathedral stands, yet he met with such success that he was consecrated bishop the very next year—A.D. 654. It was clear to everybody that this marvellous spread of Christianity brought great good to the Anglo-Saxon people, for instead of fighting against each other, they dwelt within their own borders and became a very prosperous race. Princes, nobles, and men of lower degree, eagerly responded to the invitation to build and maintain churches, especially as it was then the custom to dedicate the churches in honour of the living founder, so that Cedd very soon found himself the overseer of a number of flourishing religious communities.

8. The death of Penda.—The rest of the kingdom of Mercia was now about to be admitted to Christian privileges, and again it was the Celtic monks of Lindisfarne who achieved the happy result. Penda, the fierce warrior on whose successes Anglo-Saxon paganism depended for its existence, met at length with the fate he had brought upon so many kings. He had harassed and wasted the northern kingdom until its princes were glad to offer him any terms and tribute,

but he refused them all ; he saw that the only hope for his traditional faith lay in the total subversion of Northumbria, which had become the source and home of Anglian Christianity, therefore he made a last determined effort for its overthrow. On the other hand, Oswy and his nobles, indignant at Penda's refusal of their peace-offerings, declared that as the pagans had declined to accept their costly gifts, they would offer them to the Lord who would ; and Oswy vowed that if God prospered his arms he would build twelve monasteries, and devote his infant daughter to a religious life. In the conflict that ensued, the hitherto invincible and invulnerable Penda was defeated and killed ; and the Mercian kingdom became a province of Northumbria. Oswy's nobles governed so much of it as lay to the north of the river Trent, while Peada, Penda's son, who was related by marriage to Oswy, was allowed to retain his government of the southern portion as under-king to Oswy. This supremacy of the Northumbrian king was productive of great good to the Christian faith, and *Diuna*, the chief of the Mid-Angle mission, was made bishop of Mercia, A.D. 656. To celebrate this event, Oswy and Peada founded the monastery of *Peterborough*. Not long after this Peada was poisoned, and the Mercians revolted against the Northumbrian yoke. *Wulfhere*, another son of Penda, regained his father's territory, but did not restore paganism.

9. The conversion of Sussex.—There was still another kingdom outside the Saviour's fold—that of the South-Saxons. It was divided from the other kingdoms by dense forests, and its inhabitants were devoid of all culture, hardly knowing how to provide themselves with the necessities of life. They remained in heathen darkness until almost the close of the seventh century. It is, indeed, surprising that the Italian missionaries of Kent should have allowed nearly a century to go by, without making the least effort to redeem their nearest neighbours from error ; and this is the more remarkable when we find that the inhabitants of the Isle of Wight were *Jutes*, *i.e.* of the very same tribe as the Kentish people. We cannot at this distance of time discover a reason for such neglect, but the fact that they were left without the means of grace by their own kindred is, at least, an indirect exoneration of the ancient Church of Britain from any suspicion of cowardice, or want of charity, towards the tribe which was the earliest and deadliest foe of the Celts. In the year 681, Bishop *Wilfrid*, who was trained at Lindisfarne, but had gained much

practical experience of the world by foreign travel, undertook to preach the Gospel to this much neglected people, and founded a cathedral at *Selsey*, afterwards removed to *Chichester*, and many monasteries. We shall hear a good deal of this Wilfrid. He is mentioned here, somewhat out of due course, to complete the history of the conversion of the heptarchy. Thus all the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms were in turn made the happy possessors of Christ's religion, and mainly through the Celtic missions; that is to say, through missions started by the enterprise of the Celts, who had anciently received Christianity when their race occupied all this country under the rule of the old Roman empire, long before what is known as the Church of Rome had any unusual importance or claimed supremacy. The map on



CHICHESTER CATHEDRAL.

page 70 will help readers to understand the work performed by missionaries in each division of the heptarchy, in the ultimate conversion of Britain. No account of the Anglo-Saxon conversion would be complete unless it drew attention to the influence different royal ladies exerted on its behalf. Bertha, queen of *Kent*; her daughter Ethelburga, queen of *Northumbria*; and Alchflæda,

queen of the *Middle-Angles*, were each directly instrumental in the conversion of their respective provinces, thus showing how the “unbelieving husband may be sanctified by the wife;” and possibly the wife of Oswald may have influenced her father in the conversion of *Wessex*, from which kingdom also the first Christian king of *Sussex* obtained his wife. We have now to find out how the Churches in each province of the heptarchy, which for political reasons were unable up to this time to hold much communication with each other, became organized and amalgamated into the “Church of England.”

SETTLEMENT AND CONVERSION OF THE HEPTARCHY.

(See map on page 70.)

Tribe and Leader.	Name of kingdom.	Date of		First bishop, and source from which the episcopal succession was derived.
		Occu- pation.	Con- version.	
JUTES (Hengist and Horsa).	KENT.	449	597	<i>Augustine</i> , from Rome. (Consecrated in Gaul.)
	SUSSEX.	477	681	<i>Wilfrid</i> , a monk of Lindisfarne, who afterwards became a strong partisan of the Italians. (Consecrated in Gaul.)
SAXONS (Ælle, Cissa, Cerdic, and Cynric).	WESSEX.	495	636	<i>Birinus</i> , from Rome. (Consecrated in Gaul.)
	ESSEX.	530	654	<i>Cedd</i> , from Lindisfarne. Mellitus, of Rome, established himself among them in 603, but his converts apostatized in 616. (Consecrated by the Scots.)
ANGLES (Ida).	NORTH- UMBRIA.	547	635	<i>Aidan</i> , from Iona. Paulinus, of Rome, went to Northumbria in 626, but his work was destroyed in 633. (Consecrated by the Scots.)
	MERCIA.	560	653	<i>Diuma</i> , from Lindisfarne. (Consecrated by the Scots.)
	EAST- ANGLIA.	585	631	<i>Felix</i> , a bishop of Burgundy, and <i>Furse</i> y, a monk of Ireland. The Roman missions had previously made two unsuccessful attempts to establish Christianity.

PART II

The Era of Consolidation

CHAPTER VI. (A.D. 664–690)

BLENDING OF THE MISSIONS UNDER THEODORE

“How beautiful your presence, how benign,
Servants of God! who not a thought will share
With the vain world—

Ye holy men, so earnest in your care,
Of your own mighty instruments beware.”

1. The council of Whitby.—The success of the missions started by the Celtic Church amongst their old conquerors was hardly conducive to the desires of the Italian missionaries, who wished to bring all the British and Irish bishops in subordination to the see of Canterbury, and through it to the Church at Rome. The reader is reminded that the points of difference between these rival missions were in no sense relative to essential doctrines, either of creeds or sacraments, but concerned external matters only, which might easily have been surrendered by either side, had they not been accentuated by personal ill-feeling. To jeer at a fellow-labourer in Christ's vineyard for the way in which he wore his hair; as the monks of Canterbury did to the Irish bishop *Dagan*, when he went to Kent prepared to treat with them amicably, was not the way to bridge over the difficulty. Felix and Fursey could work harmoniously in the neighbouring province of East Anglia, notwithstanding that the fierce-tempered Kentish clergy held his tonsure in especial abhorrence. Even the keeping of Easter on different days was found to be not incompatible with fraternal sympathy, while the holy Aidan lived at Lindisfarne. Although these were the ostensible subjects of controversy, the real sting in the quarrel was the broader question, whether the ancient Church of Britain should give up its independence as an apostolic Church at the bidding of the bishop of another apostolic Church; for no doubt had ever been cast in earlier times upon the right of the British bishops to the claim of independent apostolic origin. The il-

feeling between the rival clergy was so strong, that had the matter been left to them it would have continued indefinitely. The settlement came from the court of King Oswy in Northumbria. He, it will be remembered, was profoundly attached to the teaching and persons of Aidan and Finan, the first two bishops of Lindisfarne, but they were succeeded by *Colman*, who lacked their powers of conciliation. When King Oswy came to the throne he married Eanfled, daughter of Edwin and Ethelburga, one of the children whom Paulinus had taken to Kent for safety. She had been trained to believe that the customs of the Roman missionaries were the only correct ones, and had caused her children to be similarly educated.

Wilfrid, a clever, clear-sighted, and determined man, was tutor to her family; and *Romanus* her private chaplain. Both these were priests of opposite views to Bishop Colman, whom King Oswy favoured, and something like a faction controversy arose within the court relating to the time of keeping Easter, which was increased one year by the circumstance of the fourteenth day of a paschal moon happening on a Sunday. The king's party considered it as Easter-day, but the queen's friends said Easter ought to be a week later. Thus half the court wanted to keep high festival when the other half would be observing the most solemn season of the Christian year. It was manifest that such a state of things would bring forth a goodly crop of dragon's teeth, in the shape of domestic infelicities, unless something were done to produce uniformity. So King Oswy made up his mind that the whole question should be thoroughly debated and settled, once for all, in a conference. It was held in 664 at Whitby-abbey. This was a monastery for both sexes, presided over by a lady of singular piety and administrative talent,



BENEDICTINE NUN.

named *Hilda*. The assembly was a large one, but invitations were not extended to ecclesiastics outside Oswy's dominions. It was a purely local affair, although, owing to the supremacy of Northumbria, its result was of great importance to the whole of Britain. *Cedd*, bishop of London, was there, because he had come to look after a monastery which he had founded in the kingdom. *Agilberct*, bishop of Dorchester, who had come to visit Wilfrid and his pupils, was also present by courtesy, and he was the only bishop present who upheld the Roman customs. The opposing schools of thought were represented as follows, although the meeting was really a debate between Colman and Wilfrid.

For the British method.

King Oswy (president).

Colman (bishop of Lindisfarne).

Cedd (bishop of London).

The Celtic clergy.

The abbess Hilda.

For the Roman custom.

Queen Eanfled & Prince Aldfrid.

Agilberct (bishop of Dorchester).

Wilfrid (tutor to Aldfrid).

Agatho and Romanus (priests).

James, the deacon.

Bede gives a full report of this council, which can only be summarized here. King Oswy explained that he wanted to find out the truest traditions respecting the points on which the Christians differed, so that the most authentic might be adopted uniformly in his kingdom, and he called upon the bishop of Lindisfarne to defend the Celtic use. Colman stated that the British custom of observing Easter on the fourteenth day of the paschal moon had been unvaryingly observed by his predecessors, in accordance with the example of the evangelist St. John and all the Churches over which that beloved disciple had ruled. Agilberct, by virtue of his rank, was then invited to speak on behalf of the Italian practice, but he excused himself for various reasons, and begged that Wilfrid might be allowed to reply to Colman. Wilfrid claimed that St. Peter and St. Paul had ordered the feast to be kept between the fifteenth and twenty-first of the moon. He did not deny Colman's assertion respecting St. John, but said that St. John's assent to the keeping of Easter on the Sunday after Passover week was *merely permissive* to prejudiced Jewish converts only, and not intended as a perpetual custom. He ridiculed the obstinacy of the Piets and Britons, who lived in so remote a corner of the world, in preferring their use to the accepted practice of the universal Church. Colman put in evidence the writings of *Anatolius*, and appealed to the acknowledged custom of *Columba*, the father of the Scoto-British Churches; but Wilfrid

asked, "How could any one prefer Columba to the chief of the apostles to whom Christ had given the keys of heaven and hell?" Then the king inquired of Colman, "Whether the Saviour had so commissioned St. Peter?" and he said, "It is true, O king." "Can you show that any such power was given to Columba?" and Colman answered, "No." The king said, "Do both sides agree that these words were said specially to Peter?" and both sides replied, "Yes, certainly." Then the king declared, "I will not contradict that doorkeeper, lest when I seek admission to the kingdom of heaven he may refuse to open the portals for me." The nobles and people present applauded this decision, and it was agreed that Northumbria should in future adopt the Roman reckoning for Easter-day. Any qualified religious teacher in the present day could show how unwarrantable was the inference Wilfrid and Oswy forced from that famous passage, but Colman was a simple-minded man, unused to the rhetorical artifices which his rival had acquired abroad, unable also to withstand his cutting sarcasms and contemptuous sneers; he saw the traditions of his fathers rejected and the saintly founders of his Church despised, and he knew there would be little comfort for him in Northumbria while Wilfrid had the ear of the court and people. So he resigned his bishopric and went back to Iona with many of his clergy. It must be clearly borne in mind that the decision of the Whitby conference did not involve any surrender of independence on the part of the school of Lindisfarne. Submission to the see of Rome was not asked for or granted. All that happened was this:—The province ruled by Oswy agreed to observe Easter at the same time that they understood it was kept in all other Churches except the Celtic. A successor to Colman was found in *Tuda*; he had been trained at Lindisfarne and made abbot of *Melrose*, which the brethren of Lindisfarne had founded. His personal dignity would be less wounded by the change of custom, and the fact that he could so readily accept so onerous a charge, at such a time, is proof that the Celtic teachers were only concerned to maintain the ancient customs of the British Church.

2. Wilfrid and Chad.—Tuda was consecrated to Lindisfarne by the Celtic bishops, but did not long enjoy his new honours, for in that same year, 664, a pestilential fever passed over Britain which destroyed a great number of the inhabitants, among them being Deusdedit, archbishop of Canterbury; Cedd, bishop of London;

Damian, bishop of Rochester; and Tuda, bishop of Lindisfarne. To fill the latter's place Wilfrid was nominated by *Aldfrid*, son of *Oswy*, who had been made king of Deira, and wanted to have his old tutor near him. Wilfrid accepted the appointment on two conditions. One was that his see should be at *York* instead of Lindisfarne, the other that he might go abroad for consecration, for on no account would he accept episcopal ordination at the hands of the Celts.



RIPON CATHEDRAL (*see next page*).

Lindisfarne afterwards became a separate see with *Eata* for its bishop, and *Cuthbert* for prior of the monastery. Wilfrid was consecrated bishop of York at *Compiègne* in Neustria with unusual magnificence. Twelve bishops took part in the ceremony, to show their appreciation of his successful efforts towards uniformity in the Whitby conference. The adulation showered upon him everywhere induced him to stay

abroad for about two years. He made no provision for his episcopal duties, and his people began to doubt seeing him again; the popular feeling, once altogether in his favour, then veered right round, and went entirely against him. There was at that time in the monastery of Lastingham a Lindisfarne monk, named *Chad*, brother of *Cedd*, the late bishop of London. The people begged of *Oswy* that he might be their bishop, to which the king agreed, and *Chad* reluctantly accepted the onerous position. He was sent to Canterbury for consecration, but finding on arrival that no archbishop had been appointed to succeed *Deusdedit*, he proceeded to Winchester, where *Wini* was bishop. As the canons of *Nicea* required three bishops to consecrate another bishop, two British bishops came from *West-Wales*, as Cornwall and Devon were then called, to take part in the consecration, thus uniting the Italian and Celtic lines of episcopal succession. Bishop *Chad* immediately set to work to revive the neglected Church in the north, toiling early and late, journeying from place to place on foot, winning all hearts by his humility, self-denial, and patient continuance in well-doing. There were now two bishops of York, *Wilfrid* and *Chad*, which soon became a source of trouble. When *Wilfrid* returned to Britain, and understood that he had lost the favour of the Northumbrians, he allowed *Chad* to remain unmolested until he could regain their good opinion. He employed himself in superintending the building of churches and abbeys in various other parts of Britain; and the kings were glad to have the advice of so accomplished a traveller who had visited all the courts of Europe. He was also useful in ordaining clergy for Kent and Essex, until a new archbishop of Canterbury was appointed. He had founded two very important monastic establishments at *Hexham* and *Ripon* while he was resident at the courts of *Oswy* and *Aldfrid*, in which he now passed most of his time; organizing them on a scale of then unparalleled splendour.

3. Archbishop Theodore.—The mortality mentioned among the Anglo-Saxon bishops greatly hindered Church work, especially as the kingdoms were with one exception all Christian. The times were unusually peaceful, men were ready to work heartily in the cause, but a master mind was needed to set them their tasks. The two most influential princes at this time were *Oswy* of Northumbria, and *Egbert* of Kent. Their kingdoms were the centres of the rival religious systems. They were on friendly terms, and agreed that it would be

conducive to still greater uniformity in Christian worship, if they selected a man to be archbishop of Canterbury from among the native clergy, and sent him to Rome for consecration. They chose *Vighard*, one of the Kentish clergy, all parties among the people being delighted with the selection. *Vighard* reached Rome, but was seized with malaria and died. When the kings heard this they thought it would



CANTERBURY CATHEDRAL.

be better if they asked the pope of Rome to send some one, as he would have a wider field for choice; this they did, explaining the peculiar needs of the country. *Vitalian* was pope at this time, and he wrote to *Oswy* to say that, on account of the remoteness of Britain, so few men whose qualifications agreed with the requirements specified were disposed to come, that his task was exceedingly difficult. However, after a lapse of many months, he found a suitable man named *Theodore*,

who ultimately did more for this country and its Church than any of his predecessors or successors. Vitalian consecrated him on March 26, A.D. 668. This is the first instance of the direct consecration of an archbishop for the British Isles by the Roman pontiff, and after Theodore there was not another Roman archbishop for 350 years; all who succeeded him were Englishmen. He was a Greek monk, born, like St. Paul, at Tarsus, in Cilicia; but, after coming to England, he became attached to the country, and could not have shown more patriotism had he been a native. He was a scholar, a man of vast experience, sixty-six years old, heartily in sympathy with the Eastern Church, through which the British bishops claimed to have received many of their customs, and he wore the eastern tonsure. But that he might not be unacceptable to the Kentish clergy, his consecration was delayed for months, until his hair grew sufficiently long for him to be invested with the coronal tonsure. He arrived in Britain, Sunday, May 27, A.D. 669, to be joined soon after by a still more learned ecclesiastic than himself, named *Hadrian*, who had refused to accept the higher office of archbishop. Together they traversed all the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms to obtain a better acquaintance with the people and their needs; they organized the monasteries, established schools, introduced choral services, and corrected such things as they found defective, whether in church ministrations or monastic discipline. The secular affairs of the country were most favourable to their purpose. "Never at all," says Bede, "from the time that the Angles directed their course to Britain, were there happier times, for, having most brave and Christian kings, they were a terror to all barbarous nations; and the desires of all inclined to the late heard of joys of the celestial kingdom." Theodore was welcomed everywhere, and being possessed of unusual tact he gained the good opinion of all the princes and nobles, as well as the unanimous support of the clergy. Thus fortified he commenced his grand scheme for the consolidation of all the little missionary independent communities, into a vast united Anglo-Saxon Church.

4. Diocesan changes.—One part of Theodore's scheme was to increase the number of bishops, and map out the country into smaller districts. He found a small kingdom like Kent with two bishoprics, whereas the other kingdoms, large or small, had but one bishop each, whose spiritual jurisdiction was co-extensive with the territory of the patron prince. Theodore was obliged to respect the limits of each

kingdom, but there was nothing to prevent him placing more than one bishop in the larger ones, unless the bishop of any objected to the division. The reduced areas thus committed to the care of suffragan bishops were called "*dioceses*," i.e. a complete household—a perfect community of manageable extent. It took the archbishop several years to complete this portion of his work, and his efforts in North-



WINCHESTER CATHEDRAL.

umbria were resisted by Wilfrid, but after a while he managed to place seventeen bishops where there had formerly been only nine. *East-Anglia* had two bishops instead of one, Elmham in Norfolk being the home of the new sec. *Wessex* also had two instead of one, Winchester and Sherborne being the cathedrals. *Mercia* was divided into five dioceses, with the bishops' seats at Lichfield, Hereford, Worcester,

Leicester, and Lindsey. *Northumbria* (which now included the province of Valentia, and by consequence the church founded by St. Ninian at Whithorn, in Galloway) received four bishops, the official chairs being placed at York, Lindisfarne, Whithorn, and Hexham (see page 91). Kent, Essex, and Sussex were considered to be sufficiently manned.



LICHFIELD CATHEDRAL.

5. Amalgamation.—One of the first acts of Archbishop Theodore was to remove Bishop Chad from the see of York, on the ground that he had not been regularly consecrated. Chad willingly retired to his monastery at Lastingham, whence he had come, and Wilfrid, as the rightful possessor, was invested with the temporalities of the see. Wilfrid continued his work as a church builder by restoring in magnificent fashion the then dilapidated church of St. Peter at York, which Edwin had commenced and Oswald had completed, substituting lead roofs and glass windows for the thatches and openings, covering the walls with plaster, and decorating the interior with sculptures, pictures, and hangings. Chad was not long allowed to lead a quiet life; his humility and piety attracted the admiration of Theodore, and, as soon as the Mercian bishop *Jaruman* died, Chad was appointed to succeed him in the see, where he laboured in such a way as to gain the love and esteem of all members of the Church. He did not live many years, but before he died he built a church in honour of St. Mary at *Chadstowe*, and a house for the bishops, and when a nobler cathedral was erected at Lichfield, his remains were transferred within it. It is customary to point to the double consecration of Chad as an instance of the way in which Theodore blended together the rival missions of Celts and Romans among the Anglo-Saxons. Certainly from Theodore's time it is no longer possible to consider them as separate missions. This is a very important matter, and ought to be clearly understood. Theodore had no official dealings with the British, Scotch, or Irish Churches, but among the Anglo-Saxons he found religious teachers who derived their orders from one or other of these Celtic sources. And the archbishop appointed such of them as he thought fit, no matter where they were trained. Chad was one. We cannot trace for certain whether Chad assisted Theodore or not in the consecration of the bishops who were selected for the numerous new dioceses, but it is probable that he did; for Theodore would be careful to observe the old rule which declared imposition of hands by three bishops to be necessary for valid consecration to the episcopate, and on Theodore's arrival there were only two prelates besides Chad and Wilfrid in charge of Anglo-Saxon dioceses, one of whom died the same year. Moreover, Chad was Theodore's especial favourite, whilst Wilfrid was quite the reverse. At all events one thing is quite certain, the new archbishop did not send any one abroad for consecration, nor did he send to Gaul or Italy for priests to be consecrated, but selected

impartially such men as he found to be of good report when he made his tour of inspection through the country, whether they had been trained in the Canterbury and East-Anglian schools, or in the Celtic colleges, *e.g.* Putta, Acci, and Heddi, bishops respectively of Rochester, Norfolk, and Wessex, were without doubt chosen by him from the Canterbury college ; whilst Eata and Trumbert for Hexham ; Bosa for York ; Chad, Winfrid and Saxwulf for Lichfield, and Cuthbert for Lindisfarne, were as certainly trained in the Celtic monasteries. And



THE CITY OF JERUSALEM.

if it be fair to suppose that the coming of Augustine from Rome, when only a monk, was equivalent to the establishment of an Italian hierarchy here ; it is no less reasonable to suggest that Theodore's selection of monks belonging to monasteries founded by the old British Church, to be bishops among the Anglo-Saxons, was equally a continuance of the ancient Christianity of Britain. Henceforth then there was a double line of apostolic ministry in the Anglo-Saxon Church, and when by degrees the Scotch, Irish, and Cymric (*i.e.* Welsh) Churches adopted

the continental ritual customs, and agreed to recognize the primacy of the archbishop of Canterbury (always understanding that this did not include the right of the pope of Rome to interfere), this double succession was still further assured; if indeed it was not made a threefold cord through the consecration of St. David by the patriarch of the Church of Jerusalem. It is true that all the men whom Theodore appointed agreed to conform to the Roman use in respect of Easter and the tonsure, but this decision was not arrived at because they accepted the supreme right of the pope to judge, but because they saw at last that the rest of Christendom was of one mind on the subjects, and knew that it had always been the desire of the British Church to be in complete accord with the decisions of the universal Church. Even Theodore himself would have been the last to admit that the pope of Rome had any official and legal jurisdiction here, for, having been made archbishop of the Anglo-Saxon Churches, and received the homage of the suffragan bishops and lesser orders, he determined not to allow any foreign bishop to dictate to the Church in Britain, any more than he would sanction one English bishop interfering in the diocese of another English bishop. The proof of these conclusions will be found in the circumstances treated of in the succeeding paragraphs, to which the reader is invited to give particular attention.

6. Synod of Hertford.—As soon as Theodore had made himself sufficiently familiar with the habits of Anglo-Saxons, and the peculiar needs of Britain, he called the bishops and clergy together to confer with them respecting the basis of future operations. The first meeting was held at *Hertford* in the year 673. Wilfrid of York whose independent spirit chafed under the resolute system of Theodore, was not there, but he sent two of his clergy as proctors. The Celtic clergy were not invited. Theodore first asked the persons assembled if they would agree to maintain such things as were canonically decreed by the Christian fathers? On their unanimous assent he selected ten articles from a collection of canons that had been approved by the council of *Chalcedon*, A.D. 451, and accepted by the western Churches. They were adapted, after some discussion upon each, to the needs of Britain, and all the prelates and clergy present bound themselves to observe them by signing their names to a transcript of them. The ten important *rules of discipline* thus laid down are enumerated on the next page.

1. That there should be uniformity in keeping Easter.
2. That no bishop should invade another bishop's diocese.
3. That bishops should not "disturb in any respect the monasteries consecrated to God, or take away by violence any part of their property."
4. That monks should not move from one monastery to another without leave of their own abbot.
5. That the clergy should not go from their diocese without leave, nor be received in another diocese without letters of recommendation from their former bishop.
6. That bishops and clergy should not officiate anywhere without leave of the bishop in whose diocese they were staying.
7. That there should be a yearly synod.
8. That no bishop, through ambition, should prefer himself above others, but take rank according to consecration.
9. That additional bishops should be appointed as the number of the faithful increased.
10. That persons should not wed within the prohibited degrees, nor be wrongfully divorced, nor marry others if divorced.

As these conditions have ever since been the rule of the Church in Britain, a knowledge of them will help us to understand the right or wrong of many subsequent events. The gathering together of an annual synod for all the clergy from each kingdom, instead of small local conferences like that of Whitby, completed the external union of the several Anglo-Saxon Churches.

7. Synod of Hatfield.—Another and even more important council was held at *Hatfield* seven years later, which concerned the *faith* of the Anglo-Saxon Church. Heresies had arisen in other parts of the Christian world, which disturbed the minds of Christians, and Archbishop Theodore was anxious to know how far his assistant bishops and clergy were involved therein. The result was extremely gratifying, for among the large assembly (Wilfrid of York was again needlessly absent) he found an unanimous agreement in Catholic doctrine. He caused this happy circumstance to be placed on record, all the prelates and clergy present subscribing to the document then drawn up. To put the matter shortly, this document, having set forth what the synod held to be the true faith in the Holy Trinity, concluded by formally declaring its adhesion to the decrees of the *Five*



HATFIELD, HERTS.

General Councils, viz. Nicæa, A. D. 325; Constantinople, 381; Ephesus, 431; Chalcedon, 451; and Constantinople, 553.

These councils are still the authority for the faith of the Church in Britain. Some of them had been so of the Celtic Church for centuries previously to the coming of Theodore. There was nothing, therefore, to differentiate the Welsh and Anglian Christians at that time, except the antipathies of race and the minor differences of ritual and discipline. The organization of our English Church has been continuous ever since then.

8. Wilfrid's appeals to Rome.—We have several times referred to Wilfrid, bishop of York, and his unfriendly attitude to Archbishop Theodore. The outcome is of very great historical importance. It is impossible to overlook the intense vigour with which this exceedingly clever man prosecuted everything he set his hands to. All over his diocese, by the aid of his friend *Benedict Biscop*, he built substantial, not to say magnificent, churches, some remains of which are still to be found. The whole country sought his advice for similar purposes. Monasteries under his rule were severely regulated, and the services of the churches improved; responsive or antiphonal singing was introduced in public worship; and above all he set a noble example in his

own pious, self-denying, and austere life. Perhaps it was the consciousness that he far exceeded all his contemporaries in ability, not excepting Theodore, which caused him to work independently. He was the first great advocate in England of the religious life, and used his immense powers to induce the nobility to leave all secular affairs, and spend the rest of their days in retirement, and their possessions in erecting monasteries. Many noblemen and ladies gave themselves up, and everything they possessed, for religious work at his bidding; but when he influenced the queen of Northumbria to quit the court and her consort for the solitude of a convent, King Ecgfrid was so incensed that he banished Wilfrid from his dominions. That was in A.D. 677, and again the diocese of York was without a resident bishop; whereupon Archbishop Theodore divided the vast see into four, viz. York, Lindisfarne, Whithorn, and Hexham, without consulting Wilfrid; who then resolved upon a hitherto unheard of proceeding. He had for years been proclaiming the supremacy of the pope of Rome, and now he determined to appeal in person to that authority. Doubtless Pope Agatho felt flattered by this proceeding, for he at once summoned a council of fifty prelates specially to inquire into Wilfrid's cause. The assembly pronounced entirely in his favour. Thus exonerated, Wilfrid stayed awhile in Rome. In 680 a synod was held there at which Wilfrid attended as the representative of the Churches of the British Isles. His subscription to the documents of that synod is as follows:—“Wilfrid, beloved of God, bishop of the city of York, appealing to the apostolic see for his own cause, and having been absolved by that power of charges, ‘definite and indefinite,’ and being placed with 125 other bishops in synod on the judgment-seat, also confessed the true and catholic faith for all the northern regions; the islands of Britain and Ireland, which are inhabited by the races of the Angles and Britons, besides Picts and Scots, and corroborated this with his own subscription.” As this subscription was made on the invitation of the pope, Wilfrid must have given him to understand that there was harmony and communion between the Welsh and Anglo-Saxon Churches. If, as some say, there were no dealings whatever between these Churches, he would have had no manner of title to make such a subscription on their behalf, to the hoodwinking of 125 bishops of the western Churches. What follows is instructive: Wilfrid returned in due time to his country and triumphantly produced before the Northumbrian witan the pope's demand that he should be re-instated in his

offices and privileges. If the pope's authority were at this time what some would have us believe, we should expect to find that modest assembly eager to obey their supreme spiritual ruler and make apologies to Wilfrid for his wrongful banishment; but the reverse of all this happened. The witan said in effect:—"Who is the pope and what are his decrees? What have they to do with us or we with them? Have we not the right and power to manage our own affairs and punish in our own discretion all offenders against our laws and customs?" So, to mark their sense of indignation at this unjustifiable attempt to introduce a foreign jurisdiction, they burned the papal letters and sentenced Wilfrid to a rigorous imprisonment, from which he was only released on covenanting to stay away from Northumbria. Then it was that he went and preached the Gospel in the kingdom of the South-Saxons, until that time unacquainted with the knowledge of the true God (see page 73). For nearly six years he worked there, and by his earnest labours regained in great measure the esteem of the Church. When King Ecgfrid died he was once more allowed to return to his friends in Northumbria, and *Bosa*, whom Theodore had consecrated bishop of York in his absence, was induced to retire in his favour. This cannot be construed into an ultimate compliance with the pope's decision, because the appeal to him was against the sub-division of the diocese, and in returning to York now, Wilfrid had to be content with a portion only of his former territory, because part of it had been



HEXHAM ABBEY.

divided off to form the dioceses of Lindisfarne and Hexham. Not very long after Wilfrid's restoration it was proposed to create an additional see out of his diocese, with the bishop's stool at his now famous monastery of Ripon, but Wilfrid again objected, and was once more banished from Northumbria. This time he took refuge in Mercia, and

when *Cuthwin*, bishop of Leicester, died, A.D. 691, Wilfrid was elected to succeed him. Archbishop Theodore was then dead, and his place occupied by *Berctwald*, a Saxon. In 702, Beretwald called a council to consider Wilfrid's case (no doubt it was a painful reflection on the whole Church), and Wilfrid was asked whether he would submit to Theodore's plan for re-arranging the dioceses? He declined, and charged the bishops present at Beretwald's council with having resisted the papal decrees for twenty-two years. He refused to submit to any other authority than that of the pope. In sheer despair at their inability to turn his unconquerable spirit, the bishops of the Anglian synod pronounced a sentence of deprivation on him for his contumacy, and excommunicated all who sided with him. Again the old man wended his way to Rome, that he might lay his case before



BEVERLEY MINSTER.

Pope John VI., and this time the Anglo-Saxon Church sent an embassy to justify their action. There was a long trial, extending over four months, which resulted in the acquittal of Wilfrid from any suspicion of wrongdoing. The pope sent him back to Britain with a most peremptory command that he should be restored to all his dignities and possessions. Archbishop Beretwald urged compliance with this order, but King Aldfrid refused to "alter a sentence issued by himself, the archbishop, and all the dignitaries of the land, for any writings coming, as they called it, from the Apostolic See." Wilfrid's friends were many and his sympathizers more. He was looked upon as a persecuted old man, and when King Aldfrid lay a-dying he remembered his youthful affection for his former tutor, and begged that he might be restored to favour. Still the clergy and people of York refused to have him back, and the bishops demurred to his restoration. Finally a compromise was effected. *John, the founder of Beverley*, then bishop of Hexham, was transferred to York, Wilfrid accepting the bishopric of Hexham with possession of the monastery of Ripon. "His life was like an April day, often interchangeably fair and foul, but after many alterations he set in full fair lustre at last." He died in 709. Painful as is the recollection of these unseemly wrangles, the record of them is needful to prove that papal anathemas were nothing accounted of in this country in those days.

9. The parochial system.—We have passed over many events in Theodore's primacy in order to keep Wilfrid's history connected, but we must not lose sight of another part of his plan for consolidating and improving the Church. Before he came, there were many churches built in various parts, but no settled plan of providing them everywhere. Wilfrid had roused the spirit of benevolence, but Theodore sought to turn the liberality of the people into a useful channel. Instead of having resident clergy in each neighbourhood, it had been the custom for them to live in monastic communities, but the new archbishop persuaded the nobles to adopt the system he had seen successfully worked in Greece of having a church and Christian teacher on each landed estate. Also it had been customary for the faithful to pay their offerings into a general fund to be administered by the bishops, but Theodore permitted donors to give money, lands, or share of produce, for the support of a resident clergyman in their own neighbourhood. So it came to be that "the holding of the English noble or landowner became the parish, and his chaplain the

parish priest." To encourage this part of his scheme, Theodore arranged that all who built churches and supported a resident pastor should have the right of selecting from the available clergy who that pastor might be.¹ Thus our present system of private patronage, ecclesiastical districts, and episcopal dioceses took its rise, never to be altered. "The regular subordination of priest to bishop, of bishop to primate, in the administration of the Church, supplied a mould on which the civil organization of the State quickly shaped itself;" and "it was the ecclesiastical synods which by their example led the way to our national parliament, as it was the canons enacted in such synods which led the way to a national system of law" (*Green*). In other words it was the organization and settlement here by Theodore of a united Anglo-Saxon Church that suggested to our ancestors the possibility of a single civil community. The Church was united before 690. There was not a correspondingly united kingdom until 1017.



MONKWEARMOUTH CHURCH (*see page 100*).

¹ See Hook's *Lives of Archbishops of Canterbury*, vol. i., pp. 152-3, and note. Bishop Stubbs, *Const. Hist.*, says :—"It is unnecessary to suppose that Theodore founded the parochial system, for it needed no foundation. As the kingdom and shire were the natural sphere of the bishop, so was the township of the single priest. As many townships were too small to require or support a separate church and priest, many parishes contain several townships."

CHAPTER VII. (A.D. 690-796)

PROSPERITY OF THE ANGLO-SAXON CHURCH

“The war-worn chieftain quits the world to hide
 His thin autumnal locks where monks abide
 In cloistered privacy.
 O Venerable Bede !
 The saint, the scholar, from a circle freed
 Of toil stupendous.”

1. Effects of Theodore's work.—Hitherto, owing to the tribal character of the various missionary Churches, we have had to deal much more fully with their work in the different kingdoms than will be necessary in the subsequent pages, now that we have realized them as united under a recognized head, and organized upon an uniform plan. We shall only need to direct attention to representative men in succeeding generations, round whose personality the chief events connected with the Church seem to revolve. The Church had been a long time winning its way into the hearts of the Teutons, but after Theodore had established and settled it throughout the land, it held over them an undisputed sway. The clergy became advisers of the people in temporal as well as spiritual affairs, and no important laws were made without consulting them. Besides having their own ecclesiastical courts the prelates sat with the lay nobles in local and national assemblies to adjudicate upon social, political, and domestic concerns; they took precedence of the gentry at official gatherings; the bishop ranked next to royalty, and, if in tribal strife he were made prisoner, the price of his ransom would be the same as that for a king. The *unity* of the Church often enabled the clergy to prevent strife and bloodshed between the separate kingdoms, so great was the reverence and respect shown by every one to them, and thus the welfare of the people became closely bound up with the prosperity of their religion.

2. Illustrated teaching.—The Church had no greater friends than the common people, for, although its settlement in any district was primarily due to the decisions of the nobles in witan assembled, its cords were lengthened, and its stakes strengthened, by the sincere affection of the simple peasants for the revelation which the missionaries had brought to them. It was natural that the bishops should generally stay near the princes to advise them how a Christian state should be

administered, but there were never wanting large numbers of self-denying men to go out into the valleys and hills and teach the people. There were then few books, and still fewer persons, outside the monasteries, who could read ; some other way had to be found to arrest and maintain the attention than those which we enjoy by means of the printing-press. A language which is still universal was adopted, men's hearts being appealed to through their eyes. Pictures and sculptures were freely used, and the Christian symbol of the cross set up in the gathering-place of each tribe to remind them of the motive power which should actuate them now that they were turned from heathen darkness to be "light in the Lord." Many of those crosses, erected in churchyards and public places, are still to be found throughout the country, some showing signs of elaborate workmanship. They



EYAM CHURCHYARD CROSS.

were the text-books of the time. Scenes in the story of our redemption were carved on them, which the missionary preachers would regularly explain ; and just as children now-a-days, who have picture story-books read to them before they are able to read for themselves, remember what has been told them of each picture when they look it over in the absence of the teacher, so the rough untutored minds of the Anglo-Saxon peasantry were able to realize by similar means how great things the Lord had done for them, even when the missionaries had returned to the monasteries where they lived with the bishop who ruled them.

3. Monastic life.—Among the early Christians, in this as in other countries, a literal interpretation and imitation of the devout lives of Christ's noblest followers was thought to be the truest means

of preparing for eternal joys. Solitude, poverty, self-abnegation, the renunciation of family ties, all these were thought to be evidences of an intense degree of spiritual fervour. Those who most excelled in the observance of such rules were accounted as nearest to the kingdom of heaven, and were sought out in their retirement by highest and lowest among the people, who wished for instruction in the way of life and advice in temporal concerns. The advice of the monks was usually that men should do as they did, viz. devote all their worldly substance to the Church, and their time to its service. Hence the rapid growth of the Church's material possessions, which in time became the cause of much unseemly strife, as it is unto this day. The monasteries soon became filled with inmates, for all of whom some occupation had to be found. In the fresh full vigour of a new enterprise it was but natural that many who entered these religious houses should endeavour to excel their fellows; time was not an object of concern, a whole life's work would be cheerfully given to the careful accomplishment of some such simple task as the building of a house or the reclaiming and culture of land. Manuscripts, for example, were engrossed with immense elaborateness of detail on parchment sheets; in gold, jewels, and colours. Copies of the Scriptures and liturgies were multiplied in that way. The great libraries of the world were searched, and their treasures purchased and stored up in the smaller libraries of Anglo-Saxon monasteries; the chiefest of them being reproduced by diligent and studious scribes. In writing of other things the monks wrote also of themselves; hence, from this time, there is no lack of information respecting ecclesiastics of the time. The lives of some of these have become part of the history of their native district, chiefly because they happen to be, each in their locality, the first persons of note of whom there is undoubted record. Their biographies are useful to illustrate the active and prosperous Church of the eighth century.

4. St. Cuthbert.—One of them, belonging to the north of England, is written into great prominence by the Venerable Bede. Beyond the Tweed, in the house of a widow, lived a dreamy boy, *Cuthbert* by name, who tended sheep on the hills. Once he thought he saw a light streaming from heaven, and multitudes of angels carrying a pure soul to paradise. When he heard that the saintly Aidan, bishop of Lindisfarne, had died that very night, he believed that his was the spirit which he had seen in the company of the

celestial visitors ; and being desirous of like fellowship he resolved to seek admission to a religious house. He found his way to the straw-thatched log-houses which then formed the monastic settlement of *Melrose*, a branch of the abbey of Lindisfarne, and was admitted to the brotherhood there, A. D. 651. After some years of diligent study, conspicuous devotion, and unusual energy, he became its prior. His work while in that monastery made him famous throughout the north, for not only did he wisely rule the large number of persons who were admitted to its society, but went on preaching expeditions to the lowlanders, in places solitary and afar off as well as difficult of access, where none else cared to penetrate. It was the custom at that time,



MELROSE ABBEY RUINS.

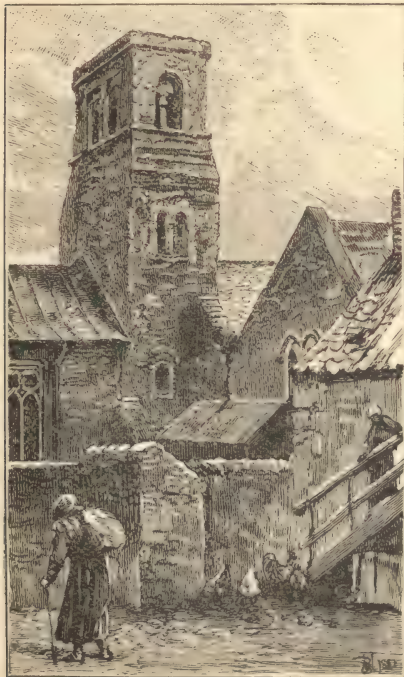
whenever a preacher came to a village, for the people to assemble at his summons to hear the Word. "Cuthbert's skill in speaking," says his biographer Bede, "was so great, his power of persuasion so vast, and the light of his countenance so angelic, that no one in his presence concealed from him the secrets of his soul ; all confessed their misdeeds, because they thought that what they had done could not escape his prescience, and atoned for them by such penance as he enjoined." Like the Saviour, he would preach all day and spend many of his nights in lonely meditation, often making journeys to distant places, both by sea and land, not seldom finding himself cut off from opportunities of food and shelter. The little town of *Kirkcudbright* in

Galloway preserves in its nomenclature a memorial of such work. In 664, when a new prior was required for Lindisfarne, Cuthbert's reputation for sanctity, and his experience as a disciplinarian, caused him to be transferred to that more important position. "His life was lightning, and therefore he could make his words thunder. . . . He was wont to blend severity towards sin, with infinite tenderness towards the sinner, and such tenderness he ever believed to be the best mode of dealing with honest confession of shortcoming" (*Maclear*). After he had been prior of Lindisfarne for twelve years, he felt the need of rest, and resolved to spend the rest of his life as a recluse. For this purpose he built himself a cell on one of the little Farne islands, surrounding it with an earthwork so high that he could see nothing of the world, but only the sky beyond it. He rarely saw visitors, nor would he under any circumstances permit females, human or animal, to land on the island. This life of almost complete loneliness lasted for eight years, during which the fame of his piety spread far and wide; and in 684, Egfrid, king of Northumbria, went to the island with Bishop Trumwine, and entreated him to accept the bishopric of Hexham. After many protestations of inability, he consented to leave his solitude, but delayed the ceremony of consecration for several months, during which he prevailed upon his friend Eata, bishop of Lindisfarne, to exchange positions with him, Eata going to Hexham, and Cuthbert becoming chief ruler over the older but more secluded community. He died in 687, but his name and fame as apostle of the lowlands, and an example of sincere devotion, is still revered throughout the north of Britain. His body was buried at Lindisfarne, in a shroud wrought by the abbess of Tynemouth, and for generations pilgrimages were made to his tomb.

5. Anglo-Saxon authors.—In the early part of the eighth century the monastic schools began to produce original writers and thinkers, who became the fathers of that English literature which is now the glory of the world. One of the earliest was *Aldhelm*, or Eadhelm, bishop of Sherborne. He wrote in Latin and in Saxon; he used to compose popular ballads in the vernacular, and stand in some public place to sing them, accompanying himself on a harp. Having gained the ear of his audience by means of the music, he generally finished by giving them some spiritual instruction. He translated the Psalms into the vulgar tongue, and persuaded Egbert, one of his brother bishops, to translate the Gospels in like manner; he is also famous for having induced the Celtic Christians in Cornwall

to abandon their old rule of keeping Easter in favour of the more general custom. Like Wilfrid he was a great architect, and at Bradford-on-Avon (see page 132) there may still be seen a monument of this branch of his labours, in the little church of St. Laurence. Until thirty years ago it was hidden among surrounding buildings and used for secular purposes, but in 1857 it was restored to the Church, and is now used daily for public worship. It is the most perfect Saxon stone building extant, and is a very precious relic of the early days of Christianity in the south-west portion of our land. Aldhelm lived among the Saxons in the south, but there was another noted poet belonging to the Angles in the north, named *Cædmon*; whose gift of poesy is said to have come to him by a sudden inspiration, as he lay sleeping in a cowshed belonging to Whitby-abbey, after a hard day's work of cattle tending. Previously he had been unable and therefore unwilling to take part in the easy alliterative rhyming which was the amusement of the common people in those simple times, but one winter's night, so he said, a celestial being came to him, and asked him to sing something. "I cannot sing," was his reply. "But you must," said the visitor. "What shall I sing?" asked the bewildered herdsman. "Sing the beginning of created things." And although he was an untaught labourer, he forthwith composed verses in praise of the Deity, which are still considered worthy of a place in our literature. When the Abbess Hilda heard his tale he was admitted to the monastery as a monk; his brethren translated to him passages from their Latin manuscripts of the Scriptures, and he immediately transposed their substance into earnest, passionate verses, in the phraseology of the Anglian peasantry. Aldhelm and Cædmon are both surpassed in literary merit by a monk whom we have often quoted—the *Venerable Bede*—most famous among the scholars of western Europe in his day. He lived at the monastery of Jarrow-on-Tyne, which Benedict Biscop had built at the end of the seventh century. Its oratory still remains, having been used almost uninterruptedly from that time for Christian worship, thus forming an evidence in stone of the antiquity and continuity of the Anglo-Saxon Church, and another example of the substantial character of its buildings. Bede was born in the year 672, and at the early age of seven was placed in charge of the Jarrow monks, from which time, until his death, he never wandered farther afield than to and from the sister monastery of Wearmouth, also founded by Benedict Biscop;

but spent his time in a constant course of study and instruction. He was a most voluminous writer. A score of commentaries on the Scriptures, compiled from the writings of the Christian fathers; translations of the Bible and liturgy into the vulgar tongue, a book upon the saints and martyrs, biographies of his contemporaries, treatises on orthography, astronomy, rhetoric, and poetry; besides innumerable letters to persons who sought his advice—all these are laid to his credit. Indeed his works were a kind of cyclopædia of almost all that was then known, and they are most of them now in existence; but above all in value is the book he wrote in Latin at the request of Ceolwulph, king of Northumbria, called *The Ecclesiastical History*



JARROW CHURCH TOWER.

of the *Anglian Nation*, which is still the chief authority for historians when they seek to know anything respecting our forefathers up to this time. The monasteries of Jarrow and Wearmouth sought to uphold the principles which Wilfrid had enunciated rather than those of the Lindisfarne teachers, and therefore we find many passages in the writings of Bede unfavourable to the Celtic Christians. He was the forerunner of many writers who were interested in advancing the claims of the see of Rome. He himself tells us that much of the information in the *Ecclesiastical History* was obtained from the libraries at Rome, and the writings of the popes. We are not blaming

Bede for such partisanship, it was part of his education, but we take the fact into account as we read his books. A beautiful word-picture is left us by one of his scholars respecting the close of his life. It was the eve of Ascension-day, A.D. 735, when he lay a-dying; the translation of the Gospel of St. John occupying his closing hours. A group of fair-haired Saxon scribes wrote from his dictation, as far as the words "What are these among so many," when Bede felt his end approaching. "Write quickly," he said, "I cannot tell how soon my Master will call me hence." All night he lay awake in thanksgiving, and when the festival dawned he repeated his request that they should accelerate the work. At last they said: "Master, there remains but one sentence." "Write quickly," answered Bede. "It is finished, master!" they soon replied. "Aye, it is finished!" he echoed; "now lift me up and place me opposite my holy place where I have been accustomed to pray." He was placed upon the floor of his cell, bade farewell to his companions to whom he had previously given mementoes of his affection, and having sung the doxology, peacefully breathed his last.



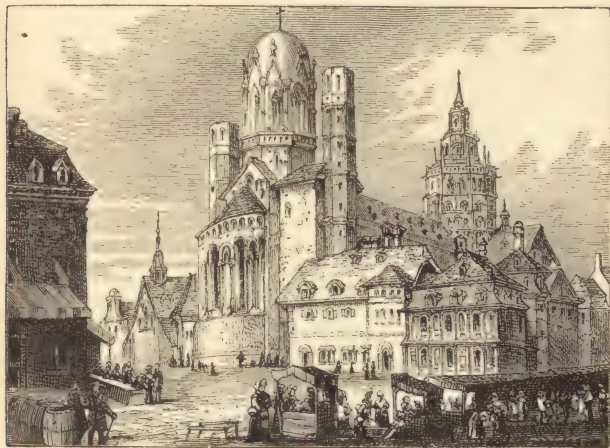
BEDE'S TOMB, DURHAM CATHEDRAL.

6. Anglo-Saxon foreign missions.—"When thou art converted strengthen thy brethren." So runs the apostolic precept, which Christians in every age have endeavoured to fulfil. Long before the conversion of the heptarchy, the Celtic Church had dispatched its missionaries to Gaul and Switzerland, as we learn from

the lives of the Irish monks *Columban* and *Gall*, and the Angles were soon filled with the like missionary zeal. From such schools as those of Glastonbury, Lindisfarne, and Jarrow, men were sent forth to convert the kindred Teutonic tribes who had colonized what we now call Germany. Wilfrid, of York, had preached in *Friesland*, and afterwards sent *Willibrord* and twelve monks from his monastery at Ripon to the same district. Two priests named *Ewald* attempted a similar task in *Saxony*, but they were torn limb from limb at Cologne, and their remains thrown into the Rhine. In 716, Winfrid, better known as *Boniface*, educated first at a Celtic monastery near Exeter, and afterwards in a West-Saxon monastery in Hampshire, resolved to help Willibrord at Utrecht. Subsequently he was consecrated "missionary bishop of Germany," by Pope Gregory II., and succeeded in establishing a number of fully organized communities, over which he was made archbishop, with his see at Mayence (see next page). After many years, although an old man of seventy he went again to Friesland, where there were still many remnants of paganism. Here his zeal outran his discretion, and the heathens, enraged by his destruction of their idols, attacked and slew both him and his converts. He courted this fate, believing that a long missionary life would be most fitly crowned at last by the glory of martyrdom. In each place where he had ministered he left behind him disciples who continued his work of civilizing the barbarous tribes of western Europe; and, thus to missionaries from this country may be traced a share of the peace and good order which marked the empire over which Charlemagne ruled. The Christianity of Gaul, to which the Celtic Church of Britain owed so much, had been depreciated, if not almost destroyed, by a similar Teutonic invasion to that which drove Christianity from the east of Britain; and after it was revived to some extent by means of the Celtic missionaries, Boniface, by his influence and experience, was able to reform and organize the whole ecclesiastical system within the Frankish dominions. We honour his memory on June 5.

7. Early benefactions to churches.—Very much has been said in recent times respecting the *charters* (*i. e.* writings, or deeds of gift) which were granted to the Church by Anglo-Saxon kings. Our museums contain several thousands of these documents, mostly in the handwriting of the monks. The *Codex Diplomaticus* of Mr. Kemble, and the *Cartularium Saxonicum* of Mr. de Gray Birch, have

placed large numbers of them within our reach in readable form, and so helped the Church to prove the title to her property incontrovertibly. Before the monasteries set the example of registering the transfer of possessions on parchment or paper, our ancestors contented themselves with the transference of property in the presence of witnesses; for example, if land were to be conveyed, a turf would be cut and given to the new owner in the presence of the other people of the neighbourhood; in similar fashion to the old patriarchal method by which Boaz obtained the inheritance of Elimelech from Naomi.



MAYENCE CATHEDRAL (*see previous page*).

But the literary monks introduced to this country a more excellent way. The Church was to live on, they knew, when the petty states would no longer exist; after the donors and the witnesses had gone to their long home. There would be difficulty, they foresaw, in proving their right to estates and buildings, when a conquering prince desired to alienate them, if they were restricted for evidence to living testimony; so they enumerated in written documents full particulars of any property given to the Church; and this practice was afterwards adopted for all important transfers, even by the laity, although it was a long time before the ancestral usage was dropped. The writings

were only looked upon as additional security. Thus, in a royal grant of the seventh century to Lyminge church, the king is made to say :—

“But because there is need of care lest our grant of to-day be in the future disowned and called in question, I have thought fit to prepare this document (*hanc paginam*), and together with a turf of the foresaid land to deliver it to thee ; whereby I prevent not only my successors, whether kings or princes, but also myself, from ever dealing otherwise with the said land than as it is now settled by me.”

When a king gave any buildings or lands to the Church he gave either from his own possessions or else from those which he had acquired by conquest over some other king, distributing some estates to this or that monastery as an act of thankfulness to the Giver of all victory ; in the same way as he would reward the faithfulness of the barons who assisted him, by the grant of some other part of the conquered territory. But kings were not the only benefactors, the nobles were glad to follow their example ; and every local or county history furnishes abundant evidence that the earliest benefactions to the Church were *individual and personal gifts*. No one has ever yet been able to find documentary proof of an uniform tribute, officially demanded by the kings, from the people generally, for the support of the Church. The essence of such gifts as the Church received, if the documents be true, is that they were voluntary. Thus we read that Offa, king of Mercia, gave a tenth part of “all his own things” (*omnium rerum suarum*) “to Holy Church,” and a Kentish deed of A.D. 832 contains the following grant to Canterbury cathedral :—

“I, Luba, the humble handmaid of God, appoint and establish these foresaid benefactions and alms from my heritable land at Mundlingham to the brethren at Christ-church ; and I entreat, and in the name of the living God I command, the man who may have this land and this inheritance at Mundlingham, that he continue these benefactions to the world's end. The man who will keep and discharge this that I have commanded in this writing, to him be given and kept the heavenly blessing ; he who hinders or neglects it to him be given and kept the punishment of hell, unless he will repent with full amends to God and to men.”

The conditions relating to the inviolable nature of this gift were very common stipulations at the time, suggested without doubt by the monks, who had some experience already of the tendency to encroach upon Church property, and withhold or subtract the contributions to it which were thus made a first charge upon estates. As in Luba's gift, so in other benefactions to the Church ; they were bestowed upon the particular church or community which the donor desired to benefit, to be used by that community or church, and by

no other ; in accordance with the conditions of the third canon of the synod of Hertford, which forbade the alienation of property from any religious house to another. In the year 854 we find that King Ethelwulf and several of his bishops, abbots, and nobles agreed to make grants from their individual properties for the maintenance of the Church, and these became recoverable at common law. This was a distinctly voluntary proceeding, which bound no one else to similar contributions, as is clear from the concluding terms of the charter (still preserved in the British Museum) which they drew up :—

“And if any one is willing to increase our donation, may the Omnipotent God increase his prosperous days. But if any one shall dare to diminish or disallow it, let him understand that he will have to render an account before the tribunal of Christ, unless he previously amends by giving satisfaction.”

These selections from Anglo-Saxon documents are typical instances of the way in which the Church acquired its property in early times, and they serve to show that the intention of the donors was then the same as it is now—to dedicate something of their own proper good to the service of God for ever. The proportion given would of course depend on the prosperity of the donor, and so we find some districts and parishes benefited much more largely than others. This is the case with modern donations also, hence the irregular distribution of Church funds, and the difference in dignity and grandeur of Church buildings. Had there been then, or at any other time, as some suggest, an uniform official endowment, there would have been less variation in these respects. The longer our Church retains such property the more inviolable will be its right thereto, for, although it is continually receiving fresh proofs of the affection of its members, it still retains many of the ancient benefactions ; notwithstanding that dishonest men in every age have risked the curses entailed upon their alienation, by taking to themselves the property of God in possession. *Tithes*, *i. e.* a tenth part of certain properties originally given for the support of the Church, of which we hear so much in the present day, are very much more ancient benefactions to the Church than such donations as have been referred to. The faithful converts were taught from the earliest times the scriptural duty of contributing a tenth of their substance for the support of the ministry ; but in the eighth century, when Northumbria still held the civil supremacy, we have documentary evidence of their *official recognition* ; for in the canons drawn up by Egbert, first archbishop of York, it was decreed as follows :—

“That the churches anciently established be despoiled neither of their tithes nor other property to give them to new places of worship.”

The decrees of the synod held at Chelsea, A.D. 787, at which Offa made the grant we have referred to, show us that tithes were also voluntary contributions, because the nineteenth canon *earnestly entreats all* to make a point of giving tithe “because it is God’s special portion.”



THE OLD CHURCH AT CHELSEA (see page 111).

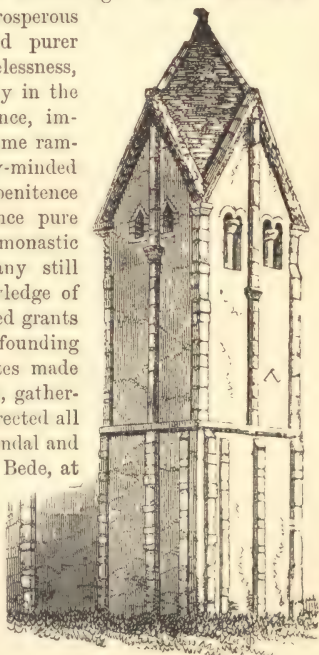
Augustine of Canterbury had, by the advice of Gregory the great, adopted a plan for dividing the contributions of the faithful into four separate funds, one for the bishop, a second for the clergy, a third for Church fabrics, and a fourth for the poor. That was when the bishop had the management of the common fund, to which all benefactions were at one time paid. Afterwards, when people gave

for special purposes, the custom, which never had canonical force, fell through. The bishops and clergy had their separate estates to administer as they chose, and the monasteries theirs. Then the poor were relieved, sheltered, fed, and employed by the monks and clergy, so that the religious houses became hospitals for all, the secular exchequer being thus relieved from all responsibility on account of the needy; a state of things which continued until the monasteries were destroyed. It is alleged by some opponents of the Church in modern times that a share of the tithes was at some time or other made divisible *by law* amongst the poor, but there is no historical evidence for such an assertion.

8. Royal devotees.—So great was the prosperity of the Anglo-Saxon Church in the eighth century, and so much respected were its devotees, that it was not at all unusual for kings to leave their regal state and adopt the monastic habit. Many made pilgrimages to places where relics of saints and martyrs were enshrined, and offered thereat munificent alms; others journeyed to the city of Rome barefooted, and combined to establish an hospital there for the reception of travellers from Britain, and a school for the education of British children; several ended their days in the comparative solitude of a monastery which they had been instrumental in founding. Some of those royal zealots were really actuated by religious fervour, others by the desire of relaxation from the cares of state, or the wish for adulation of a novel kind; others, again, adopted a monastic habit or the pilgrim's staff in expiation of former sins. One of the best was *Ina*, king of Wessex, the same who conquered West-Wales, and who was persuaded by Aldhelm to rebuild and endow Glastonbury-abbey. As the story goes, Ethelburh, his queen, persuaded him to renounce his royal state by a very strange device. After feasting his barons one day in extravagant fashion he went forth from the palace to go to another of his castles accompanied by the queen, who, before she left, had instructed the stewards to dismantle the house, hide its treasures, fill it with rubbish, and put a sow with a litter of pigs in the king's bed. Before they had proceeded far on their journey the queen asked Ina to return, and after showing him over the defiled palace, bade him consider the vanity of earthly pomp, and urged him to lay aside his crown and make a pilgrimage to the city of Rome with her. He did so, and they lived as ordinary persons in that city all the days of Ina's life, endowing a school there wherein

Anglo-Saxon children might become acquainted with the usage of foreign countries. Ethelburh returned to Wessex and died in a Saxon monastery. Ina is famous also for having established a written code of Saxon laws in which, as in the earlier laws of Ethelbert, we can plainly trace the handiwork of the clergy. The provinces of Northumbria, Essex, East-Anglia, Mercia, and Kent, each contributed their quota of penitent kings, and their example was followed by many queens and noblemen and ladies, who often became rulers of the religious houses which they had themselves built and endowed.

9. Decadence of religious purity.—The early part of the eighth century has been called the “Golden Age” of the Church in Britain, because it was then more prosperous than it had ever been before, and purer than it has been since; but carelessness, indifference, and vice, followed swiftly in the wake of its prosperity. Intemperance, impurity, and greed of gold soon became rampant. The mixed company of worldly-minded and criminal persons, whose professed penitence gained them admission to those once pure homes of Christian life, defiled the monastic abodes which sheltered them. Many still more worthless men, with no knowledge of or care for the religious life, obtained grants of land from kings on the pretence of founding monasteries, so as to have the estates made over to them and their heirs for ever, gathering together in the buildings they erected all sorts of worthless persons; much scandal and vice resulting. A letter written by Bede, at the close of his life, explains the extent to which those evils had grown; and a chapter in his *Ecclesiastical History* relates how Adamnan, who had been trained in one of the Celtic monasteries, complained to the abess of Coldingham respecting certain evils which abounded in her house; the



SOMPTING CHURCH TOWER
(see page 132).

inmates either sleeping idly, or being awake to sin. Stringent measures had to be adopted to reform such abuses, which necessitated a liberal interpretation of the third canon of the synod of Hertford, for the monasteries which in many cases had been independent of episcopal jurisdiction, under the rule of their abbots alone, were now obliged to submit to a regular periodical visitation from their bishop. It is necessary here to state that although the monastic clergy very often went out on preaching tours, the ordinary parochial ministrations were usually left to the *seculars*, that is, the clergy who lived amongst the people, usually as chaplains in the landed proprietors' families, in which position they would be able to meet with the peasantry who gained their livelihood on the estate and were fed for the most part in the great hall of the Thane. They were called *secular* clergy, because they lived "*in seculo*," or after the manner of the world, free to marry if they chose, and live much as the parochial clergy do in the present day. All who lived in the religious houses had literally to "renounce the world" and live according to the Benedictine regulations, hence they were known as *regulars*. The *seculars* had no other chief than their bishop, but the *regulars* occupied positions of orderly gradation from the novices to the abbots, much in the same way as our army is regulated now, from the privates in the ranks to the generals of the staff. To place them under a new chief, by giving bishops the power of visiting monasteries, created an ill-feeling between the two classes of clergy, to which we shall refer again later on; for it resulted in a struggle for supremacy, in which first one and then the other was successful, for more than seven hundred years.

10. Offa, king of Mercia.—Meanwhile, the strife amongst the Anglo-Saxon princes for the rank of *Bretwalda* continued; it had been borne, as we have seen, by Kentish and Northumbrian kings, but in the second half of the eighth century, Offa, king of Mercia, successfully contended with the kings of Wessex for this overlordship. We have nothing to do with his civil struggles, but as he was the most powerful of the English kings and a friend of Charlemagne, the Frankish king who was winning for himself a still greater supremacy in eastern Europe, his influence upon the Church was correspondingly great. He left no way untried to make his kingdom in every respect as great as, if not greater than, any of the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms which he had subdued or surpassed. Kent had long enjoyed an

archbishop. In 734, after the publication of Bede's history which made known the original intentions of Gregory the great, the see of York was raised to a like dignity. Why, thought Offa, should not the churches in his still more powerful kingdom be similarly encouraged? Accordingly, he would have the bishopric of Lichfield made a metropolitan see, and, when the archbishops of Canterbury and York protested, he sent bribes to Pope Hadrian to obtain the requisite permission and the pall. Hadrian was glad of an opportunity to meddle in the affairs of the English Church, and sent two legates here, who held a council at Chelsea, A.D. 787, and persuaded Jaenbert, archbishop of Canterbury, to surrender control of the five bishoprics of Mercia, and the two of East-Anglia, to Higbert, who was now made archbishop of Lichfield, and by reason of Offa's position as overlord took precedence of the other archbishops on important occasions. This dignity for Lichfield only lasted a short time, for after the death of Offa, Aldulf, who succeeded Higbert, requested that the archbishopric might be abolished. It was in Offa's reign that an Englishman, whose literary reputation was world-wide, received an invitation from Charlemagne to take up his abode in France, as the director of that great monarch's educational enterprises. His name was *Alcuin*, he was born at York, and had been instructed by archbishop Egbert there. Having successfully conducted great schools in Northumbria, he was considered the fittest man to revive the almost extinct learning of Europe. That is another instance of the influence of British Christianity over the fortunes of the Church abroad; for



ST. ALBAN'S MONASTERY GATE
(see next page).

Alcuin, besides his educational work, took part in the religious controversies of the continent, and helped to form western Church policy in the unfortunate struggle for independence against the eastern Churches. The reign of Offa is marked by two other important events. One was his conquest of considerable British territory west of the river Severn, to maintain which a huge wall of earth was thrown up, from the mouth of the Wye to that of the Dee (parts of it are still pointed out as *Offa's dyke*), thus forming what has since been the boundary between England and Wales. The other noteworthy circumstance was the murder of Ethelbert, king of East-Anglia, whilst he was a guest in Offa's palace. Traditional accounts state that, in expiation of this crime, and annexation of Ethelbert's kingdom, the king of Mercia made a tardy penance by visiting the city of Rome, and on his return imposing on each family in his dominion a small tax of a penny for the maintenance and support of Ina's school there. He certainly gave large benefactions to Hereford cathedral and Bath-abbey, and also founded the great monastery of St. Albans (see page 152). There had been a notable church at Verulam ever since Alban was martyred, but Offa, who desired to excel all previous efforts in the foundation of religious houses, built and endowed a more magnificent one than the country had then seen. In after years, when bishops of Rome acquired an usurped authority over the Church in Britain, special privileges of exemption from all episcopal authority save that of the popes were granted to St. Albans-abbey. Offa died A.D. 796, and the civil supremacy passed into the hands of Egbert, king of Wessex, to whom all the other Anglo-Saxon kings paid homage, and by whom the country was called for the first time *England*, although it was not yet one kingdom. The Anglo-Saxon tribes were henceforth known as the *English* people, and their tongue the *English* language, but the divisions of the heptarchy were still observed, with a king over each, who governed absolutely; the difference was that they had now to fight for the overlord, or at least not to fight against each other.



CHAPTER VIII. (A.D. 787-1066)

THE COMING OF THE NORTHMEN

“Dissension checking arms that would restrain
The incessant rovers of the Northern main ;
Helps to restore and spread a pagan sway :—

The woman-hearted confessor prepares
The evanescence of the Saxon line.”

1. The first Danish invasions.—In the year 787 three strange ships found their way to this country, not loaded with merchandise, but carrying fierce bands of pirates, who had come from Scandinavia. “They were the first ships of Danish men who sought the land of the English nation.” Piracy was accounted by them as



DANISH WARSHIPS.

an honourable employment. Their greatest ambition was to be sea-kings. They were of the same *Teutonic* race as the “English ;” but while the English tribes had become Christian, the Northmen, who had replaced them in Sweden, Norway, and Denmark, retained the

heathen worship of their common ancestry. The pirates' light ash-wood ships were so built as to be able to sail with equal facility over the German Ocean or up the English rivers. It is said that they landed first on the coasts of Northumbria, near the monastery of Streanæshalch, since called Whitby, and having treacherously murdered the chief men of the town, who came down to the harbour to meet them, they proceeded to lay hands on everything of value, which for the sake of getting rid of the Northmen the panic-stricken people surrendered. St. Hilda's monastery afforded them the largest booty; for there were numbers of gold and silver vessels and much saleable treasure in the shape of manuscripts and vestments. The monks and priests made a feeble resistance, but the fierce marauders dispatched them with little ceremony. Indeed, they had a special hatred against the Christian religion, for it had well-nigh destroyed their ancient mythological belief. They utterly destroyed the monastic buildings, and having filled their ships with spoil, sailed away over seas. The success of their first expedition emboldened them to fresh attempts, and within two years the towns on the coast of Wessex suffered from similar depredations; in 795 "the harrying of heathen men wretchedly destroyed God's church at Lindisfarne isle, through rapine and manslaughter." The next year, "the heathen harried among the Northumbrians, and plundered the monastery at Wearmouth." In 832 "heathen men ravaged Sheppey." They did not come as an army prepared to give battle to trained troops, but came down suddenly upon some peaceful town which was unprepared to resist them. Offa, king of Mercia, cared nothing about the way they plundered and weakened the smaller provinces, so long as they remained outside his kingdom. But when he died, and Egbert, king of Wessex, assumed the supremacy of the Anglo-Saxon kings, a more organized resistance was offered to the invaders. But they continued their depredations for full 200 years, and it is not too much to say that a similar distressful condition of affairs occurred all over the country to that which happened 300 years before, when the earlier tribes of Teutons harassed the Celtic population of Britain. In 833 there was a pitched battle between the Danes and Egbert, the *bretwalda*, in which the bishops, clergy, and monks, took up arms against the heathen; but the united forces were unable to stand against the Northmen, and two bishops, Herefrid, of Worcester in Mercia, and Wilbert, of Sherborne in Wessex, were killed in the strife. On

the whole, however, Egbert was able to hold the Danes in check during his reign, and he obtained a decisive victory over them at *Hengist's-Down* in Cornwall, A.D. 835. The constant ravages of the Danes forced the Anglo-Saxon kings into a mutual alliance against them, the Church providing everywhere the bond of union. It was a fight for home, and family, and freedom, and for love of Christ.



MURDER OF KING EDMUND (*see next page*).

2. Destruction of the Anglo-Saxon churches.—In 847 the clergy under *Ealstan*, bishop of Sherborne, obtained their revenge over the Danes for the death of the bishops by decisively defeating them not far from Glastonbury, whither they had come attracted by the wealth of that famous church. But the Danes were irrepressible, they never accepted defeat. If they went home it was only to return in a short time with large reinforcements; and in 851

they had gained a sufficient advantage over the English to be able to winter in the isle of Thanet. Henceforth "it was no longer a series of plunder-raids, but the invasion of Britain by a host of conquerors who settled as they conquered." In 866, and again in 870, they invaded East-Anglia, each time defeating the inhabitants. On the second occasion the Danish leaders *Ubba* and *Ingwar* offered life and kingdom to King *Edmund* if he would renounce Christianity and reign under them. But he refused their terms and gloried in the faith. He had once sheltered *Lodbrog*, their father, at his court, but, when flushed with wine and inflamed with minstrelsy, one of King *Edmund*'s retainers, basely violating the laws of hospitality,

"In the dark of guilty night,
Plucked King *Lodbrog*'s lusty life,"

for which the Danes now took a terrible revenge. They tied *Edmund* to an oak-tree and shot at him with arrows, but nothing would shake his fortitude. He was then beheaded, and has since been honoured in the English Church as one of its noble martyrs. The tree to which he was bound stood until a few years ago, when it was destroyed by lightning; and a Danish arrow-head found embedded in its heart was sent to the British Museum. *Edmund*'s body was carefully protected from dishonour by his friends, and when many years later there was danger of its being maltreated by descendants of his murderers, they removed it to the church of St. Gregory by St. Paul, London. In the year 1013 they placed it in a little wooden church at *Greenstead*, in Essex, the nave of which remains to the present day, after being used for more than eight centuries in the service of the English Church. It is the only one of all the Saxon wooden churches which remains to us. It is built of upright oak-wood logs, with windows above them, and is well worth a visit from holiday-makers by reason of its ancient dignity as well as its primitive simplicity. It is about a mile from *Ongar* station on the Great Eastern Railway. From it the body of St. *Edmund*, king and martyr, was in quieter times transferred to a worthy shrine still known as St. *Edmund*'s Bury, in Suffolk. So terrible was the strife between the Danes and English, and so vindictive the conduct of the invaders toward the churches and monasteries, that everything in the shape of religion and learning became paralyzed. All the great religious houses and the finest churches were pillaged and destroyed. The noble monastery of *Bardney*

in Lincolnshire fell in 869. The still wealthier one of Crowland followed suit the next year, its abbot being slain at the altar where he was celebrating the Holy Communion, many of the monks being tortured and killed in the most cruel manner. Shrines and monuments of the departed were especially singled out by the Danes as objects of destruction. The costly materials of which they were composed would be rifled, and the bones and relics scattered hither and thither. Whatever was of wood in the buildings they burnt, and



GREENSTEAD CHURCH, NEAR ONGAR, ESSEX.

that which was stone or brick they razed to the ground. In 875 the monastery of Lindisfarne was attacked. The brethren there hastily removed the remains of St. Cuthbert, and fled for shelter to Melrose. There also the general enemy came, and the monks were compelled to bear the wooden sarcophagus that contained the precious relics from one place to another, until, in 882, by the aid of a king of Wessex (see page 120), the community obtained a resting-place at Chester-le-street. Another Danish invasion in 995 forced the brotherhood to

hide their master's bones in the primæval woods of Durham, under a shrine of boughs, until they could erect a humble church to hold them; which preceded the stately pile—"half church of God, half castle 'gainst the Scots"—which Carilef built in the eleventh century.

"O'er northern mountain, marsh, and moor,
From sea to sea, from shore to shore,
Seven years Saint Cuthbert's corpse they bore.

And after many wanderings past,
He chose his lordly seat at last,
Where his cathedral, huge and vast,
Looks down upon the Wear."—(*Sir W. Scott's "Marmion."*)



DURHAM CATHEDRAL FROM THE WEAR.

Peterborough and Ely, Winchester and London, Canterbury and Rochester, Lindisfarne and Hexham, every place in fact which was likely to contain anything worth searching for; all were pillaged and the inmates massacred by the Danes. The whole country became a scene of desolation, over which the conquerors exulted in the wildest ribald glee. "The land was as the garden of Eden before them, and behind them a desolate wilderness." At length arose a leader who put a period to his country's woes.

3. Alfred the great.—King Æthelwulf, who succeeded Egbert, had four sons, each of whom in turn wore the crown. The reigns of three of them were very short; two of them died, and were buried at Sherborne, *Æthelred*, the third son, succeeding. In his reign the Danes, who had long been devastating the north and east, for the first time invaded Wessex with an army. This they divided in two parts. The king was at his devotions when the attack of the Danes was made, but he refused to be interrupted. He said:—"I will serve God first and man after." Meantime his brother *Alfred*, who led part of the English force, met one division of the enemy and slew their leaders; and after the king joined in the conflict a similar victory was gained over the other division. Undaunted, the Danes renewed the attack within a fortnight. This time they held their own. A succession of battles followed, in one of which another bishop of Sherborne was killed, and soon after, Æthelred died, Alfred taking his place as king of Wessex, A.D. 871. Before the year was out, Alfred fought another battle with the Northmen near Salisbury, in which neither side won, but the Danes were so stubbornly resisted that they ceased troubling Wessex for a while, and confined their attention to Northumbria and Mercia. This land they apportioned amongst themselves, as they had done with the kingdom of East-Anglia. It did not matter whose the land might be, Church lands, common or tribal lands, as well as that which had been in the personal possession of the kings or nobles whom they slew in battle, they seized upon it all. Also they changed the names of many towns. In fact, all places in England with the termination *by*, which is equivalent to *bury* or *town*, were so named by the Danes about that time.

4. Peace with the Danes.—In 878 they again invaded Alfred's kingdom, *Guthrum* being their leader. There were several battles, but a decisive one was fought at Ethandun, in which the English were victorious, and Alfred was able to make definite terms with the invaders. He was willing that they should occupy the districts known as Northumbria, Mercia, and East-Anglia, if they would agree to leave Wessex, Kent, and Sussex undisturbed; in other words, the boundary line was to be the Thames as far as London, and from thence the great highway called "*Watling-street*," which was the chief means of communication between London and Chester. One great condition, however, was imposed, viz. that the Danes should

become Christians, respect the property of the Church, and restore the lands they had taken from it. To this they agreed, and the treaty was signed at *Wedmore*. Guthrum, afterwards called Athelstan, was baptized with his nobles, near Athelney, and Alfred was his god-father. Their conversion was the indirect means of bringing to Christianity many other bands of Northmen, who continued immigrating hither for generations; and from that time, although the Northmen soon became lords of the soil, there was not the destruction of tribes which marked the Teutonic conquest of the Celts. The Danes were heathen



THE ISLE OF ATHELNEY.

when they landed and remained so for awhile, but they at last became absorbed, and lost their tribal characteristics, because they adopted the faith and customs of their English kindred. They perceived the temporal benefit that resulted to others from the possession of Christianity; they saw their fellows transformed from roving pirates into agricultural settlers, and gradually they came to see that the latter fashion was the easiest way to wealth. Like Coifi of old (see page 60), if to become Christians would bring them more gain than the worship of Woden, they were willing to be baptized; and if settlement

in the land would increase their prosperity, they would forsake their ships without regret. No doubt the people of Northumbria and Mercia made terms of peace with them to save their homes and churches. They had to be under some overlord, whether it were Guthrum or Alfred could scarcely matter much to them, and the Danes would be glad to make terms of peace with the Saxons under Alfred, for the sake of being permitted to tax, and live upon the labour of, the Anglians. Alfred also was a man of peace; he had been religiously trained, and desired rather "to live worthily," and leave behind him the remembrance of good works, than to be constantly making war.

5. Alfred's government and laws.—The *Peace of Wedmore* gave the land ten years' rest, during which Alfred set to work to retrieve the prosperity of his kingdom which the Danes had wrecked. The long wars had nearly exhausted the vigour and intelligence of the people, so that Alfred did not know of a single person south of the Thames who could translate from Latin into English. To remedy this, he introduced teachers from other kingdoms, as Asser from Wales and Grimbald from Flanders, who established schools. The tradition that Alfred founded the university of Oxford is now declared fictitious. Even when engaged in battles with the Danes, he was never without his *Missal*, or prayer-book, which he would read by the light of his camp-fire. As he had opportunity, he translated suitable books into the tongue of the common people. Portions of the Scriptures, the works of Bede, several devotional manuals, a book by Orosius on *Universal History*, and much besides, were all rendered by him into the English vernacular. His efforts for the civil government of his kingdom were even more extensive. In this his chief advisers were the bishops, under whose guidance he issued a code of laws, incorporating those of Ina and Offa, on the basis of the Decalogue. The earlier codes are not extant, but "Alfred's Doms," as his code is called, have been handed down to us. They begin thus:—"The dooms which the Almighty Himself spake to Moses, and gave him to keep, and after Christ came to earth, He said He came not to break or forbid, but to keep them." Then follow the ten commandments, and such other laws as were thought needful for the kingdom, even to the declaring what holidays the labourers should have. These latter were fasts and festivals of the English Church. For the guidance of the Danes, who had accepted Christianity through his interposition, a special agree-

ment was drawn up. It provided for silence and reverence within the walls of churches, forbade Sunday labour, made apostasy a finable offence, and enforced the *customary* payment of dues to the Church. The destruction of religious houses by the Danes, and the drafting of lay monks into the army almost broke up the monastic system in England. Alfred sought to revive that system, so far as he was able; for the monasteries were very useful in times of war, as places where the women and children might be sheltered and cared for while the men were fighting. So we find records of Alfred having built a monastery where Guthrum was baptized, and founded a house for women at Shaftesbury, in Dorsetshire, A.D. 888, the revenues of Aldhelm's church at Bradford-on-Avon (see page 132) forming part of its endowment. The king's grant of land to Shaftesbury is preserved in the British Museum, and has been deciphered as follows:—



ALFRED THE GREAT.

"I, King Alfred, to the honour of God,' etc., 'do give and grant for the health of my soul, to the church of Shaftesbury, one hundred hides of land" (the lands are then specified as being in different neighbourhoods) "with the men and other appurtenances, as they now are, and my daughter Aylena with the same, she being at her own disposal and a nun in the same convent." Then follow the signatures of the witnesses, and the charter concluded thus:—"Whosoever shall alienate these things, may he be ever accursed of God, the holy virgin Mary, and all saints."

Many noble ladies, not bound by any vows, lived in such establishments for protection, and their retainers defended the approaches against the incursions of the Danes. King Alfred, still further to guard his kingdom, built many ships with which he often prevented the Northmen from landing on the coasts. To revive the old love of his race for the sea he sent men on foreign expeditions and trading missions, and for the encouragement of Churchmen he sent embassies to the great bishops of Rome and Jerusalem. He also sent ships, so the chronicles say, to India, with alms for the poor Christian communities which the apostles St. Bartholomew and St. Thomas had established

there. Thus we have in Alfred's reign the foundation of our naval and commercial enterprise, and also friendly intercommunion between the apostolic English Church with other apostolic Churches in Jerusalem, Rome, and India. King Alfred died in the year 901, and was buried in the cathedral at Winchester, then the chief city of the paramount West-Saxon kingdom.

6. Re-conquest of the North.—After Alfred had improved his kingdom, through the assistance and advice of the clergy, the way was clear for his son *Edward (the Elder)* to regain that supremacy which the Saxons had obtained under Egbert over the Anglian princedom, but which the Danes had wrested from them. He became chief of the Anglo-Saxon provinces as far as the Humber, all the other princes, Danish, Scotch, or Welsh, paying homage to him as their overlord. His sister, *Ethelfleda*, contributed greatly to this result. She was married to the eorldeorman *Ethelred*, whom King Alfred had made prince of Mercia. When Ethelred died Ethelfleda assumed the reins of government, and made for herself a name and fame as a warrior queen which overshadowed that of Boadicea. She assisted her brother in driving the Danes beyond the Humber, and still further restricted the territory of the Welsh. To maintain and defend the places in which an advantage was gained over the enemy, she would raise earthworks, and build fortifications, which became bases for further operations. Thus Tamworth, Stafford, Warwick, Derby, Leicester, and Chester became fortified towns. Ethelfleda was known as the "Lady of the Mercians," and after her death, A.D. 918, the Mercian province was annexed by Edward to *Wessex*. Edward (the Elder) had many sons and daughters, all of whom were worthy in their way; five daughters married foreign princes, a sixth wedded the Danish prince of Northumbria, and three more entered religious houses. Edward's son *Athelstan* still further increased the power of the West-Saxon kingdom, and adopted the title of *emperor* to show that he thought himself equal to the other emperors of Europe, and that all the princes of the British Isles were his vassals. He was succeeded by his brother *Edmund* (the Magnificent) who granted Strathclyde to Malcolm king of Scots on condition of military service. After Edmund, *Edred*, a third son of Edward the elder, became king. He died in 955. This brief account of England's civil history is necessary for the better understanding of what follows.

7. Changes in the Church.—The influence of the clergy over Alfred the great was exerted still more over his sons and grandsons. Archbishop *Phlegmund*, who had been one of Alfred's chief advisers, was the leading statesman of Edward the Elder for the first ten years of the latter's reign. Under such circumstances it was but natural that the Church should share as it did in the people's prosperity. The bishoprics which became vacant by the death in battle of the soldier prelates were speedily filled up again, and new ones were formed out



THE CATHEDRAL OF WELLS, SOMERSET.

of the large dioceses of Wessex, as had been done in Mercia and Northumbria in the days of Theodore. Thus the see of *Wells* was founded in 904, and that of *St. Germans* in Cornwall thirty-two years later, when the *West-Welsh* submitted themselves to the potent Athelstan. In the reign of that prince the provisions for the maintenance of the Church were revised. Those who held estates which were chargeable with premiums or tithes to the parochial clergy, or to monasteries, had often neglected to pay them during the troubled

times. On the petition of the clergy these charges were now enforced, and made recoverable under penalties, in such provinces as Athelstan governed. Offa's provision (page 112) for Ina's school at Rome was now increased by a similar contribution from the Saxon kingdoms. The administration of that fund was placed in charge of the clergy at Rome, who gradually converted it to the use of the papal see, until in time those benevolences came to have the appearance of tribute due from the English Church to a spiritual superior, and were called *Peter's-pence*, or *Rome-shot*. But there had never been up to that time any surrender of independence by the English to the Roman Church, although the latter was undoubtedly looked up to with reverential feelings by the Christians of this country. The power of its popes was rapidly increasing, as yet there were no glaring abuses in its system, and it was undoubtedly more powerful than any European state. The English clergy desired to obtain a similar supremacy for the Church in Britain, and this was probably the underlying reason for the embassies to various patriarchal churches on terms of equality in King Alfred's time. They saw, however, the advantages of a spiritual court of appeal, and to that extent they were willing to favour the pretentious claims of the papacy, which had not had to suffer the loss of all things at the hands of heathen destroyers, and was therefore in a far more established and successful condition than the English hierarchy.

8. Dunstan and Odo.—Early in the tenth century a child was born at Glastonbury, the shrine of mysterious legends, who was destined, as a man, not only to reform the discipline of the English Church, but to mould the English realm. "Dunstan stands first in the line of ecclesiastical statesmen who counted among them Lanfranc and Wolsey, and ended in Laud." As a boy he excelled in all the peaceful arts of music, eloquence, architecture, mathematics, painting, and metallurgy. The manuscripts and stores of precious lore which former monks had laid up in the Glastonbury monastery, formed a mine of intellectual wealth which he loved to explore, and when *Edmund the magnificent* came to the throne of Alfred, Dunstan, who had been in turn both courtier and monk, was made abbot of the monastery where he had studied, and, by virtue of the legislative position this office gave him in the witanagemot, chief administrator of the state. The archbishop of Canterbury then (A.D. 943) was *Odo*, who was desirous of enforcing rigorous discipline upon all the clergy. Hitherto

it had been allowable for the parochial clergy who were not attached to any monasteries, to exercise their discretion in the matter of marriage, but Odo was persuaded that clerical celibacy was a necessary rule. The seculars naturally objected to the restriction, but the archbishop hoped—by transferring cathedral and collegiate revenues as well as parochial church possessions to monastic institutions, thus impoverishing the canons and parsons¹—to force them into Benedictine



THE HILLS AT GLASTONBURY.

monasteries. Dunstan, who when a monk had adopted a most rigorous mode of life, warmly seconded Odo's designs. The quarrel between regulars and seculars raged fiercely for many years, both sides seeking to discredit the other by raking up unworthy scandals. For the present it is sufficient to say that the regulars had by a long way the best of the struggle. In violation of all previous canons, much ecclesiastical property now changed hands; no doubt Odo and Dunstan

¹ *Parson* is an old title of dignity applied to the ecclesiastical representative of a parish. In recent times it has been applied to unbeneficed clergy also.

found a way of reconciling this unrighteous proceeding with their consciences, but a terrible retribution was in store for all the religious houses which benefited by such alienation. (See chapter xviii.)

9. Dunstan's administration.—The Anglian clergy in the north at that time were on the side of the Danes, and *Wulstan*, archbishop of York, led the Danish armies. To outwit *Wulstan*, Dunstan offered, on behalf of the Saxon kingdom, to permit *Kenneth*, king of the Scots, to hold so much of Northumbria as was north of the Tweed, on condition that the Scots should help the Saxons against the Danes. Henceforth the Scots held their chief seat in *Edinburgh*, and by mixing with the Angles of Bernicia, gradually adopted their customs and manner of speech. It is a characteristic feature of the Anglian race to be able to absorb the peculiar habits of other nationalities. *Strathclyde*, ceded to a predecessor of *Kenneth* by *Edmund*, was anglicized in the same way. Thus the English tongue of the Scottish people to-day, as well as the boundary of their country, is distinctly due to the statesmanship of the English bishops. The Danes in the north of England were soon defeated by the Scoto-Saxon allies. Archbishop *Wulstan* was deposed by Dunstan's order and thrown into prison, *Oscytel* succeeding him in the office. In that way Dunstan gained an influence over all the clergy in the country, and a corresponding power in all the witans, especially in that of Mercia. In the year 955, King *Edred* died, and was succeeded by his nephew *Edwy*; another nephew, *Edgar*, ruling Mercia as under-king. Those princes were then very young and ill-trained. It is supposed that Dunstan had something to do with their neglected education in the hope that, when they succeeded to kingly rank, he might have more influence over them. *Edwy* indiscreetly married the lady *Elgiva*, but as they were related within the prohibited degrees of the Church his action brought down on him the wrath of Dunstan. An open enmity between king and counsellor ensued, *Edwy* taking the side of the secular clergy in the clerical dispute in opposition to and in defiance of Dunstan. *Edwy's* infatuation for *Elgiva* was so great that he neglected his duties of state to enjoy her society, and it is said that when he absented himself from the hall of entertainment for that purpose on the day of his coronation, thus affronting the nobles who had come to do him honour, the abbot *Dunstan*, with the bishop of *Lichfield*, forced him from her company and compelled him to respect the conventional duties of his station.

That brought upon Dunstan the enmity of the court, for he was soon afterwards banished from Wessex and his abbey confiscated; but without his remarkable talents the government of the kingdom, which had been upheld solely by his marvellous powers of organization, could not continue, and he was speedily recalled by the nobles. Archbishop Odo upheld the abbot in his opposition to the marriage, and pronounced it invalid. Later on, when an earl transgressed the laws of marriage in a similar way, Dunstan promptly excommunicated him. The noble then sought a reversal of the sentence by appealing to the bishop of Rome, who decided in his favour, and ordered Dunstan to absolve them. But he refused to follow the pope's decree. The marriage must be abandoned or there should be no absolution. When Edwy saw how little the prelates of the English Church cared for the pope's decision he gave up his unlawful concubinage, and, in barefooted penitence, begged the abbot's pardon, which he, being entirely victorious, most graciously granted. Edwy died, A.D. 959, of a broken heart, caused by the ill-treatment extended to his excommunicated consort, and the insurrection of his brother Edgar. Archbishop Odo had died four months previously. Edgar was then king of England, and Dunstan became archbishop of Canterbury. Edgar is called the *peaceful* king, and that is the best that can be said of him. The conduct of affairs, both civil and ecclesiastical, was mainly left to Archbishop Dunstan, who is credited with having compiled the new and comprehensive codes of law that mark this reign. Edgar the pacific died in 975, leaving behind him two very young sons, *Edward* and *Ethelred*. There was a strife amongst the people as to which of them should be king. The partisans of each prince had their adherents amongst the rival clergy, the *seculars* siding with the barons in favour of Ethelred, while the monks and yeomen clamoured for Edward. A way out of the dilemma was found by Dunstan, who confronted the witan and decreed for Edward, the elder child, none daring to oppose his choice. But Edward was stabbed four years after by order of his step-mother, Elfrida, at *Corfe Castle*; Ethelred, who was still but ten years old, succeeding to the throne. It is said that Elfrida, in atonement for her crime, built several monasteries, one of which was at Reading, in Berkshire. For ten years longer Archbishop Dunstan maintained his high position and influence. He is said to have built and restored more than forty monasteries, the chief of which was his *Alma Mater* at



BENEDICTINE MONK.

Glastonbury; and to have established many schools, for the efficient conduct of which he introduced eminent masters from abroad. He became less bitter as time went on in his treatment of the secular clergy, for he allowed the canons to remain in Canterbury cathedral; and it is computed that there were at least 3000 parish churches under his jurisdiction. In his capacity as chief statesman Dunstan had much to do with the Danes, who were allowed to settle in the north. He did not force upon them English customs or English laws, but permitted them to govern themselves in their own fashion, so long as they were peaceably disposed. Hence the origin of the term *Danelagh*, or territory subject to Danish law. Dunstan died in the year 988, and was succeeded by Ethelgar. Two years later Sigeric was primate, followed by Ælfric in 995, and Elphege in 1006.

10. The Danish conquest.—King Ethelred was now left to manage the kingdom as best he could. He is known in history as the *unready*, which means “unadvised.” In 991 there was trouble again with fresh bands of Northmen from Denmark. To get rid of them Ethelred gave them a very large sum of money, with the consent of the witan. They soon came again, however, to a country where they could be enriched so cheaply, and the tax thus imposed upon people was called *Danegeld*. In 1002 the king conceived a very horrible plan for extirpating the invaders, for he caused all the Danes that were in England to be massacred on *St. Brice’s-day*, November 13. That dastardly proceeding brought a terrible punishment. To revenge their kindred the Danes came over in large force under *Swegen*, and harried all the land for years. In one of their expeditions they took *Elphege*, archbishop of Canterbury, prisoner; and because he would not rob his church to obtain his ransom of 3000 pounds of silver, they pelted him to death with ox bones. This occurred A.D. 1012. King Ethelred, who had married *Emma*, a daughter of Duke Richard of Normandy, fled for fear with his wife and children to her father’s court. Swegen, the Dane, was then acknowledged king of England. His claim was contested by *Edmund Ironside*, Ethelred’s eldest son,

who fought in defence of his father's kingdom. Swegen died in 1014, and the Danes in England elected his son Cnut for king. But the English returned to their allegiance to Ethelred, who, however, died in 1016. There were now many battles between Cnut and Edmund Ironside, which resulted in the partition of Britain, as it had been in the days of King Alfred, except that East-Anglia was apportioned to the English, that is to say, Northumbria and Mercia were ceded to Cnut. After reigning seven months in the south, Edmund Ironside died; it is thought he was murdered; and then Cnut became the *first sole king of all England* whose claim to the title was undisputed. Edgar had been crowned by Dunstan as "sole king," but there were other kings in Edgar's time who refused to give up their regal title although they paid him homage. Cnut was a heathen when he first came to England, but after he found out how extensive and paramount was the influence of the Church, he treated its prelates most considerately; and wisely retained the parochial divisions of the country for the purposes of government. To still further commend himself to the English he married Emma of Normandy, the widow of King Ethelred, by whom he had two children, who were to be preferred in the succession to Emma's other children by Ethelred. The story of Cnut and the waves belongs to this period. It is said that when the wars were over his courtiers flattered him very highly for his greatness, and that to reprove them he had his chair of state brought to the edge of the sea as the tide was rising, and thus addressed the waves:—"O sea, I am thy lord; my ships sail over thee whither I will, and this land against which thou dashest is mine; stay then thy waves, and dare not to wet the feet of thy lord and master" (*Freeman*). Of course his feet were wetted all the same, whereupon he exhorted his courtiers not to forget that the elements were in the power of a greater than any earthly king. Perhaps he thought of what the Christians had told him about the Saviour whom the winds and waves did obey. This much is clear, he became a firm Christian from that time, he even refused to wear his crown, and placed it on the head of the Saviour's image on the rood loft, some say of Winchester, others of Canterbury cathedral. He also made a pilgrimage to Rome, and while there wrote a letter to his subjects promising to rule them well and lead a righteous life; urging them to do the same, and, above all, never to neglect payment of their just dues to the Church. On his return he re-issued the Christian laws of Edgar's reign, and munificently supported all

Church enterprises ; many Danish nobles following the example of his benevolence. Cnut's chief work of this kind was the establishment and endowment of the monastery of Saint Edmund's Bury, alongside the secular church already there, in expiation of his ancestors' murder of King Edmund (page 115). Before he died he did a still nobler work than that, for he sent missionaries from this country to his fatherland, who were able to convert Norway and Denmark to



ABBAY GATE, BURY ST. EDMUNDS.

the Christian faith ; another proof that the mainland of Europe is indebted to Britain's missionary zeal.

11. Anglo-Saxon architecture.—There are still many churches in different parts of England which are known to have been built before and about that time. There are Monkwearmouth and Jarrow-on-Tyne which Benedict Biscop built in 674 and 684. (See pages 94 and 101.) Then there is Bradford-on-Avon, built about twenty years later by Aldhelm, which is pictured on page 133 ; and also one scarcely less ancient, and nearly as perfect, at Escomb in Durham. The latter is of stones quarried and carved by Roman masons. At Barton-on-Humber, Earls-Barton (see next page), and Barnack, we have remains of portions of churches hardly less venerable for age. The general tendency in Saxon times was to make the churches lofty, with small windows high up towards the roof. Most of the Saxon churches were of wood, although many were of stone. The native materials would be used in preference to those brought from a distance. Very seldom were there any isles or pillars, but the roof was pitched from the outside walls. A nave, a chancel, and an entrance porch seem to

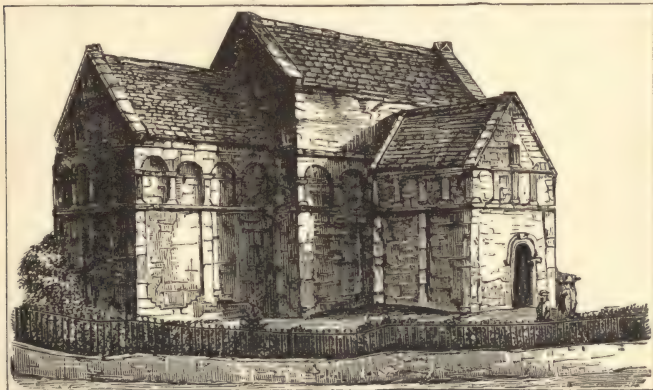
have been the usual forms. There are many old towers still standing attached to more modern churches, and on the other hand, towers have been added, or perhaps rebuilt, to an ancient nave. Greenstead church in Essex (page 117) is an example of this. In the tower of Sompotting church, Sussex (page 109), we have a well-preserved specimen of the general type of Saxon architecture. The Saxon style is generally called *Romanesque*, because it is an imitation of the older Roman buildings. We have still more numerous survivals of pre-Norman churches that were built at the close of the tenth and the early part of the eleventh centuries, because those which were built by the Danes after their conversion and those which were built in the time of *Edward the confessor*, were usually copies of continental churches with which the Norman relatives of the Danes were familiar, and therefore did not destroy. But they improved upon the style of the Saxons, first in massiveness and afterwards in elegance. Apart from any religious motives, great inducements were often offered by the Anglo-Saxon princes for the building of churches, by giving the founders higher social rank, *e. g.* in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* a charter of King



EARLS-BARTON SAXON TOWER.

Athelstan is thus recorded:—"If a ceorl thrived so as to have five hides of land, a church, a kitchen, a bell, a tower, a seat, and an office in the king's court, from that time forward he was accounted equal in honour to a thane." This is as much as to say in modern terms, that if a prosperous squire were to largely benefit his neighbourhood, providing one of the benefits conferred were the building and maintenance of a church, he might be elevated to knighthood or the peerage. Consequently churches were built apace, and when a survey of England was taken in the year 1086 a very large number of churches found a place in the inventory, Norfolk having no less than 243, Suffolk 364 (page 149).

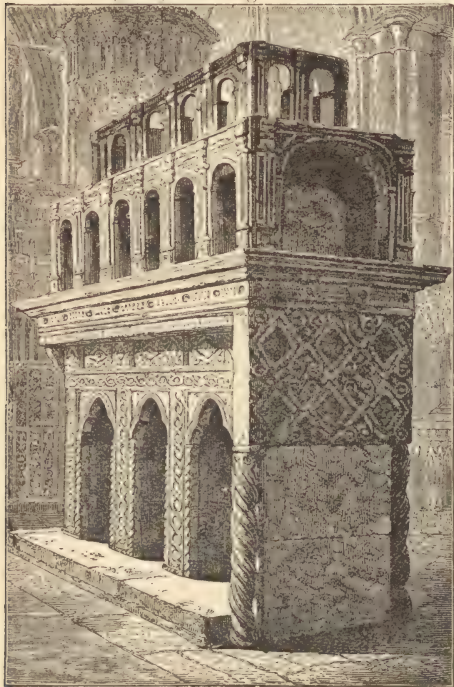
12. The English restoration.—Cnut was succeeded in England by his two sons, Harold in the north, and Harthacnut in the south. But Harthacnut died, and *Edward*, son of Emma by Ethelred, who had lived at his mother's home in Normandy during Cnut's reign, and there lost any love of English manners and language he may have had, now returned to England and claimed his father's throne. Many persons were attracted to his cause, and Harold the Dane was driven out of England, Edward thus becoming king. He married Edith, a daughter of Godwine, the most powerful English earl, but had no family. He also was a munificent supporter of all Christian works in this country, but he introduced a large number of his Norman-French friends, some of whom he promoted to positions of honour and dignity



ST. ALDHELM'S CHURCH, BRADFORD-ON-AVON.

in the English Church. The most important of those foreign prelates were Ulf, bishop of Dorchester (Lincoln), and Robert, bishop of London, who was afterwards archbishop of Canterbury. The Norman officials triumphed for a time over the patriotic leaders, and caused their banishment; but Godwine and his friends in exile raised a force and obtained a fleet, and returned to claim their rights. As the popular feeling was all on their side, the Norman courtiers and prelates judged it wiser to leave England. Godwine and his son Harold, earl of East-Anglia, then became the chief advisers of King Edward. Earl Godwine died soon after, and his son Harold, owing to the timid and feeble

disposition of the king, who preferred to divide his time between hunting and prayers, became virtual ruler of the land, and succeeded to his father's title. He endeared himself to the people by his successful generalship in war, especially in Wales, and by his wise benevolence towards the Church. King Edward had espoused the cause of the regular clergy, but was almost overridden by the monks, who induced him to build, and endow at vast expense, the abbey church of Westminster. Harold, on the other hand, advanced the cause of the secular clergy by building the church at Waltham as a collegiate



TOMB OF EDWARD THE CONFESSOR.

Edward was too unwell to witness its consecration, and died January 5, 1066, eight days after the ceremony. He was buried in the abbey,

foundation, and providing for the maintenance of a dean and twelve canons therein. Moreover, he went on the customary pilgrimage to Rome, which King Edward was unable through illness to undertake. In every way Harold sought to obtain the goodwill of English people, and through his sister Edith's influence, as well as by his wise administration of state affairs, he became also the greatest friend of the king, whose health had rapidly declined. Harold's church at Waltham was completed in 1061; Westminster-abbey was not consecrated until four years later. King

and subsequently his bones were translated to their present place. King Edward had recommended to the witans that in the absence of direct issue his brother-in-law the *Earl Harold* should succeed him in the kingdom; but he had also promised that Emma's grand-nephew, *Duke William* of Normandy, should be king. These two, Harold and William, at once became rivals, and a life and death struggle ensued.



WESTMINSTER-ABBEY.

Harold, the people's choice, elected by them in their representative assemblies as the best and bravest, and therefore fittest for king, of all Englishmen ; received the support of the patriotic party as well as the influence of the bishops and clergy. He was crowned by Ealdred, archbishop of York, in Westminster-abbey, which had been determined on by Edward the confessor, as "the place of the king's constitution and consecration for ever." He ought to have been crowned by the archbishop of Canterbury, but after the Norman primate, Robert, had fled and his election had been declared void, Stigand, bishop of Elmham, was elected to succeed him. The pope of Rome refused to

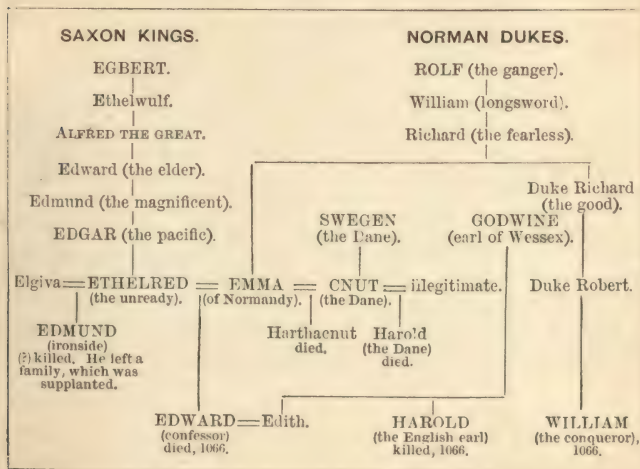


HAROLD'S CHURCH AT WALTHAM.

acknowledge this appointment, and therefore, in all important matters, for the sake of safety, the archbishop of York was called upon to officiate in Stigand's stead. Harold raised a large force to meet Duke William whenever he should land, but his men were chiefly drawn from the agriculturists who were wanted on the farms to reap the harvest. William was taking time to perfectly drill his levies, and when he did invade England Harold's men were for the most part disbanded. In spite of the valiant fight of such men as were left to Harold against the fresh troops led by William, the tide of fortune was in favour of the Normans. Harold was killed at the battle of Hastings, and buried in the church which he had founded at Waltham ;

and William (*the conqueror*) made himself king of this country. Before he came to England he had obtained papal sanction for his enterprise, and the pope blessed the Norman banners; consequently, William's victory at Hastings brought England into closer connection with, and its church into greater submission to, the papacy; as will appear in subsequent pages. William claimed the English throne by inheritance and Edward's promise, and pointed to his victories as God's approval of the righteousness of his claim. On the spot where Harold was defeated and slain, King William built Battle-abbey as an act of thanksgiving for his great success. (See next page.) It is a singular proof of the adaptability of the English Church that every successive invasion ultimately resulted in an increase of its possessions. Races came and went, but the Church remained; tribes fought against each other, but they were in accord on this one point at least, that the Church deserved their best support.

GENEALOGICAL TABLE.



CHAPTER IX. (A.D. 1066–1089)

THE NORMAN CONQUEST.

“Yet as the terrors of the lordly bell,
That quench, from hut to palace, lamps and fires,
Touch not the tapers of the sacred quires ;
Even so a thralldom studious to expel
Old laws, and ancient customs to derange,
To creed or ritual brings no fatal change.”

1. The Norman nobles.—The victory of Duke William and his friends did not exactly introduce a new race of people into Britain. “Norman” is only another word for Northmen, and when some of the Teutons from the north of Europe (Norway, and Denmark for example) found their way to this country, other bands of Northmen



BATTLE-ABBEY GATEWAY (*see page 137*).

made a home for themselves in that part of France which has been since called Normandy. Whether the Northmen were straight from Denmark or transplanted from Normandy, it was the individual power and ability of their leaders rather than their numbers, which gained for them the mastery. They did not come in multitudes, but in small

and thoroughly trained companies. Neither did they come without much previous plotting. The disaffected nobles of the older tribes, with their retainers, were sometimes to be found willing to help the invading bands in the hope of being allowed to retain their estates. By intriguing for their influence the way was generally made easy for the landing of adventurous nobles from abroad. If they were victorious the old set of leaders would go to the wall, and another set take their place. What the customs and government of the country under the new administrators would be like, depended upon the training and policy of the persons who came into power. Thus, when the uncivilized and plundering Danes made a hunting-ground of Britain, they left the marks of their character, as a serpent's trail, wherever they went; until they became accustomed to its cultivated lands and the settled character of its inhabitants, and understood that more was to be gained by preserving both than by destroying either. But when leaders and fighting men came from Normandy, where for a hundred years they had lived among civilized conditions, their object was the reverse of destruction, unless by re-constructing in their own fashion which they thought better, and which time has proved to have been so, they could improve what they found. The Anglo-Saxons had been a very thriftless people, and they might have remained to this day in their primitive untutored state, had it not been for the refining influences of the Church. The same may be said of the Northmen who invaded Gaul, but when these became convinced of the superiority of Christian culture they pursued it with a determination to which other Teuton tribes had been strangers. The way had been prepared for them in this country by the sojourn in Normandy of Anglo-Saxon princes, such as Ethelred the unready and his son Edward the confessor, but especially by the influence of the Norman lady Emma who was wife of two kings of England and mother of two others. The Norman courtiers who surrounded Emma's husbands and sons introduced many foreign fashions; they were promoted to lucrative offices in the English Church, and positions of honour in the realm; and although the English nobles were able to hold their own for a time, they were almost extinguished under the rule of the Norman dukes and their followers, the meanest of whom rapidly rose to wealth and power. All who fought against the Normans at the battle of Hastings were held by the victors to have forfeited their estates to King William, who seized upon their lands

and divided them amongst his friends on condition of military service when called upon. The seizure of lands was a gradual process, as the conquest itself was gradual. The estates of Harold and Edward the confessor were the first to be confiscated, and then those of the nobles who fought unsuccessfully for their homesteads. By degrees the Normans subdued every shire and earldom, and through sheer force of enterprise compelled the chief men to "bow before them for need." They then assumed the control of all the land; but it not unfrequently happened that many Englishmen were allowed to redeem their estates if they had not fought against the new rulers, provided that they would consent to do military service in return for their land, which they were thenceforth to hold as if it had been a grant from William, whose permission to hold property became in time the only valid title. Before the coming of the Normans there were many small estates owned by the *ceorls* or yeomanry, besides the large ones which the earls and thanes possessed. After the conquest small holders, and the tenantry on the larger estates, had to do homage and pay tribute to the new lords; so that, when the Norman barons came into possession of the properties which William gave to them, the condition of English tenants became an intolerable servitude; for they had to provide the feudal barons with money and men to enable them to discharge their liabilities to the king. The lands and other possessions belonging to the churches and monasteries were not interfered with, and if an estate which a Norman received was chargeable with any payments of tithe or rent to a religious foundation, he had to solemnly promise the due performance of all such covenants as were entailed. Abbacies and bishoprics, however, were as soon as possible entrusted to Normans, who often held them with their secular baronies; and thus all high positions, both in Church and Realm, were transferred from English to Norman holders, until by the end of William's reign few English earls held estates and only one English bishop retained his see. That was the kind of change that took place at the Norman conquest. The condition of the labouring people was certainly less free, but they still remained in their old homes under a change of rulers. "William took a great deal of land from Englishmen and gave it to Normans, but every Norman to whom he gave land had in some sort to become an Englishman in order to hold it. He held it from the king of the English according to the law of England; he stepped exactly into

the place of the Englishman who had held the land before him ; he took his rights, his powers, his burthens, whatever they might be, neither more nor less. . . . The English did not become Normans, the Normans did become Englishmen ; but the Normans, in becoming Englishmen, greatly influenced the English nation and brought in many ways of thinking and doing which had not been known in



EXETER CATHEDRAL (*see next page*).

England before" (*Freeman*). The halls where thanes had lived were soon replaced by massive stone castles surrounded by earthworks and moats in which the Norman barons and their retainers lived, and from which the worst of them sallied out from time to time to harass and oppress the old inhabitants who could not penetrate such fastnesses.

2. Completion of the conquest.—William the conqueror was crowned in Westminster-abbey by Ealdred, archbishop of York, on Christmas-day, 1066, according to the English ritual; for he claimed to be the true successor of Edward, as king of the English people, and did not desire to introduce Norman law, but hoped by administering the English codes to commend himself to his new subjects. He did, however, make distinctions between the Normans and the English; for instance, although he would not dare to interfere with the accepted prerogatives of the Church, he did not allow any of his Norman friends to be punished by it without his permission. His conquest of England had only commenced at Hastings, and he was for some time busy in reducing the north and west to his sway. The forests, mountains, marshes, and moors gave shelter to many bands of outlawed English, who were noted for their deeds of daring, and to whom all disaffected persons found their way, ready on the slightest provocation to raise a revolt against the Normans, first in one district and then in another. The last of these bands was not suppressed until 1071, when those who had entrenched themselves in the isle and monastery of Ely, under the English abbot Thurstan and Hereward the outlaw, were compelled to surrender; after which no one disputed William's position as king. It must be remembered that he had other dominions in Normandy which required his personal supervision and necessitated frequent prolonged absences from this country. During such absences he placed relatives in charge who were not as just in judgment as himself, although they imitated him in his severity.

3. Episcopal changes.—Until he was firmly settled on his English throne, William interfered but little with Church affairs beyond filling up important vacancies with his Norman friends; but as soon as he had subdued the nobles he turned his attention to the re-organization of the episcopate. He found many bishops holding more than one see; for instance, the East-Anglian bishoprics of Elmham and Dunwich were held by one man, as were those of Sherborne with Ramsbury in the south, and Crediton with St. Germans in the south-west. He found also that the cathedrals were often placed in sparsely-populated districts; those he caused to be removed to the busier cities, as that of Wells to Bath; Selsey to Chichester; Dorchester, in Oxfordshire, to Lincoln; and Lichfield to Chester. Where there were *pluralist* bishops, that is, bishops holding more than one

bishopric, he caused their sees to be amalgamated, as in the case of Sherborne and Ramsbury, over which he appointed his nephew Osmund ; who removed the bishop's stool to Sarum, now known as " Old Sarum," then an important military fortification. Most of the prelates appointed by King William, although strangers to this country, were very worthy and learned men, but some of them shared



WORCESTER CATHEDRAL (*see next page*).

largely in the tyrannical characteristics of the Normans. Such an one was Thurstan, who was made abbot of Glastonbury, and who desired to enforce upon the monks of that ancient foundation a different rule of singing the chants and services from the Gregorian music to which they had been accustomed. When they declined to adopt his novelties he brought soldiers into the abbey, who by his

orders discharged a volley of arrows at the disobedient monks, killing many of them, for which outrage William sent him back to Normandy. To some of the abbeys which fell vacant William occasionally appointed Englishmen, probably to allay ill-feeling, but usually Normans were the only recipients of his patronage. He did not depose the Englishmen all at once; if they had fought against him, or charges of insurrection could be brought against them, they would be deposed; but usually he waited for the death of the English holders before he placed his Norman friends in their offices. Before long only one English bishop remained; that was *Wulfstan of Worcester*. He had been appointed by Edward the confessor soon after the banishment of the Norman prelates, but had preferred to be consecrated by Ealdred, archbishop of York, rather than risk the validity of his appointment by receiving consecration at the hands of Archbishop Stigand. King William sought to depose Wulfstan on a charge of illiterateness; because he could not speak French, which was the court language, and therefore would be unable to counsel the king or his nobles; but that was held to be an insufficient reason by the council before which the cases of Wulfstan and other prelates whom William sought to deprive were brought. Wulfstan was a brave soldier as well as a bishop—the two offices were often combined in those days—he had also a great reputation for sanctity, and even the Normans soon learnt to love him. It would have been unwise on William's part to insist upon the deposition of so popular and suitable a prelate, so Wulfstan was allowed to retain his see, which he kept all through William's reign, and far into the next. His retention of office prevented any break in the continuity of episcopal orders in the English Church at the Norman conquest, for Wulfstan took part in other consecrations.

4. Archbishop Stigand.—The council that acquitted Wulfstan was the national witan which met at Winchester every Easter. Many prelates were deposed by it, chief of whom was Archbishop Stigand whom William had determined to replace by Lanfranc, who had long been a trusted friend and counsellor. William owed no gratitude to the English Church, because it had espoused Harold's cause, and therefore he had little scruple in dominating it by Norman prelates. He knew that he could not consider himself really master of England until he had bent the Church to his will, and his French friends whom he now placed in high offices therein would help him to do so. When

they lived on the continent they were under the spiritual jurisdiction of the Church of Rome, and now that they made England their home they were still desirous of recognizing its authority, and welcomed its legates. The virtual ruler of the papacy at that time was *Hildebrand*, who afterwards became Pope Gregory VII. He had brought the influence of the popes of Rome to a greater height than it ever reached before, and many kings and emperors submitted their difficulties to papal arbitration, which had the effect of increasing that influence. When William planned the conquest of England, he sought the countenance of Pope Alexander II., and pretended that he desired to bring this country under the dominion of the papal see. That was the surest way to gain the pope's approval, for (as Mr. Freeman said in his larger *History of the Norman Conquest*): "England's crime, in the eyes of Rome—the crime to punish which William's crusade was approved and blessed—was the independence still retained by the island, Church, and nation. A land where the Church and nation were but different names for the same community, a land where priests and prelates were subject to the law like other men, a land where the king and his witan



gave and took away the staff of the bishop, was a land which in the eyes of Rome was more dangerous than a land of Jews and Saracens." After the Norman conquest Gregory VII. sent three legates over to England, to demand William's homage for the kingdom. He had no intention of rendering such homage, but he was glad to make use of the legates to depose Archbishop Stigand, who, it will be remembered, had replaced the Norman archbishop Robert before the latter was dead. Robert appealed at the time to the pope, the only occasion that a bishop of an English

see had done so since Wilfrid's day, and the pope decided that Stigand's consecration was invalid. King Edward and the nobles who elected Stigand evaded compliance with the pope's decree, and for nineteen years Stigand was looked upon as archbishop by the people, and received canonical obedience from the other bishops and clergy. Now, however, it was alleged against him that he had held the bishopric of Winchester at the same time with the see of Canterbury, not an uncommon offence at that time, as we have seen; also that he had used his predecessor's pall and had received his own pall from an *anti-pope*.¹ On these charges the papal legates agreed to depose Stigand; who was imprisoned at Winchester for the rest of his life. In his place Lanfranc, abbot of St. Stephen's, Caen, was elected. About the same time Ealdred, archbishop of York, died, and Thomas of Bayeux was appointed to succeed him. These two archbishops went to Rome to receive the palls which constituted them metropolitans, and thus brought the English Church more closely under papal dominion.

5. Papal influence in England.—When the legates who took so large a part in the national councils of 1070 asked William for his homage, he refused to sacrifice the independence which the kings of this country had always enjoyed, and wrote to Hildebrand to that effect. His letter runs thus:—"Thy legate Hubert, holy father, hath called upon me in thy name to take the oath of fealty to thee and thy successors, and to exert myself in enforcing the more regular payment of the money which my predecessors were accustomed to remit to the Church of Rome. One request I have granted, the other I refuse. Homage to thee I have not chosen, nor do I choose to do. I never made a promise to that effect, neither do I find that it was ever performed by my predecessors to thine." He concluded by asking the

¹ It very often happened that there were schisms in the papacy, this is to say, disagreements had arisen in the election of a pope and rival nominees assumed the title and performed the offices. When it was decided which of such rival popes should be acknowledged, the unsuccessful one was declared anti-pope, and all his official acts invalid. The following instances of papal schisms are noteworthy:—A.D. 359-366 between Liberius and Felix; A.D. 418-423, between Boniface I. and Uralius; A.D. 496-498, between Symmachus and Laurentius; A.D. 686-687, between Conon and Sergius; A.D. 903-905, between Leo V. and Christopher; A.D. 972-974, between Benedict VI. and Boniface VII.; A.D. 996-999, between Gregory V. and John XVI.; A.D. 1061-1073, between Alexander II. and Urban; A.D. 1083-1086, between Gregory VII. and Clement III.; A.D. 1086-1096, between Clement III. and Urban II.; A.D. 1378-1380, between Clement VII. and Urban VI.; A.D. 1406-1417, between Gregory XII., Alexander V. and John XXIII. (See pages 234 and 250.)

pope's prayers "because we have loved your predecessors, and you above all we desire to love sincerely and listen to obediently." In his reply Hildebrand seems to have offered a gloved hand ; he was profuse in his compliments to the king, but more than hinted at a punishment for disrespect to the successor of St. Peter. He also cited the bishops of England to appear before him at Rome, but neither bishops nor king regarded his word, and Hildebrand had sufficient good sense not to press the matter. We thus see the full extent of papal influence in England at this time. Before the conquest the spiritual and temporal supremacy of the popes in England were alike denied : now, as the result of Alexander's sanction to the conquest of England by Normans over whom he admittedly held sway, and the appointment to English sees of Norman clergy who upheld that influence, the independence of the English Church was seriously threatened ; but its independence and authority was not at present allowed to pass wholly into the hands of the popes. The agreement between William and the papacy respecting the tribute ought not to be misunderstood. The payments referred to in William's letter related to the Rome-shot or Peter's-pence that King Ina had instituted in Wessex for the support of his school at Rome, which Offa had extended to Mercia, and Ethelwulf and Alfred the great had confirmed. It was a payment of gradual growth, but was never understood to be more than a voluntary gift in which the English people might have a beneficial interest when they or their children visited Rome. The regularity of its payment depended upon the prosperity of the country, and upon the rise and fall of the Church of Rome in popular esteem. William would not now have agreed to continue the payment as a benevolence had it not received the countenance of the older English kings, of whom he claimed to be the adopted successor. Henceforth Peter's-pence was regularly demanded by the representatives of the pope, though not regularly paid. Appeals to Rome were also very frequent in consequence. To them the conqueror had no objection so long as they did not affect his regal dignity, but when an abbot appealed against him he is reported to have said :—"I have a great respect for the pope's legate in things which concern religion, but if any monk in my dominions



ODO OF BAYEUX
(*see next page*).

dare to raise a complaint against me I will have him hanged on the highest tree of the forest." And at another time when he had imprisoned his half-brother Odo, bishop of Bayeux, for unjust oppression of the English, and the pope demanded his release on the ground that William had no jurisdiction over ecclesiastics the king simply took no notice, but kept his relative in durance until the close of his reign. William was familiar with the troubles that sometimes came upon the papacy and the schisms that often resulted, and he made a law that no pope should be recognized in England as the orthodox pope without his approval ; he also forbade the calling of synods or the receipt of papal letters without his permission ; and therefore, while we deplore the introduction of papal powers into the English Church through William's nobles, we are thankful that he left us evidence which proves it to have been a novelty then ; from which we may judge that the English clergy were justified in their subsequent action when they rose against the oppression so thrust upon them and declared that they would submit to it no longer.

6. Ecclesiastical courts.—One very important change in the government of the church during the reign of William the conqueror was the separation of the ecclesiastical and civil courts. Hitherto, the bishops and abbots had sat in council with the ealdormen in the courts of the shire ; and had their place among the nobles in the witans, or national councils of wise men, which met at different centres near the times of the Church's great festivals, as for instance, in Westminster at Christmas, in Winchester at Easter, and in Gloucester at Pentecost. At those courts both civil and ecclesiastical offences were judged, but William's foreign bishops were unacquainted with the English law and were useless for its administration. To prevent difficulties arising on that account, William ordered that the prelates should no longer adjudicate in combined courts ; but appointed that sheriffs and barons should judge civil affairs, and that spiritual matters should be brought before the higher clergy in ecclesiastical courts. That worked fairly well when the strong-minded William was alive, but the clerical lawyers endeavoured to bring most offences within the sphere of the spiritual courts, thus narrowing the province of the common law. The chief result of the separation was to make it appear that the clergy were a distinct caste outside the civil jurisdiction, and this in the succeeding reigns was used as a powerful lever for enforcing the supreme appellate jurisdiction of the pope of Rome, and suspending that of the king.

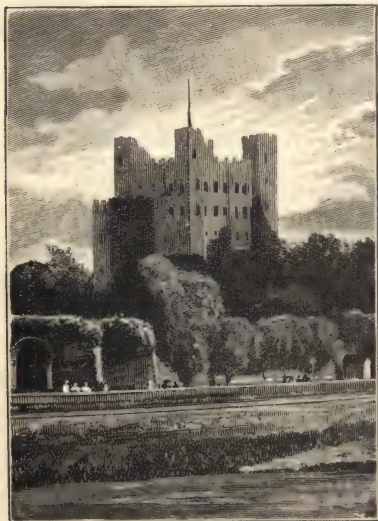
7. The Domesday survey.—To become more thoroughly acquainted with the English land and the wealth of its people, whether French or English, William caused a record to be made of all the estates, with their possessions, large or small; from which we learn that about half the lands of the kingdom were at that time in the hands of spiritual persons. It was a most laborious work, and the assistance of the Church, through its bishops and parochial clergy, was called in for its compilation. Report says that not an ox, or cow, or pig, was passed by in that wonderful inventory. The value of lands in preceding reigns, with their present and past holders; the number of churches and monasteries existing, and how they were provided for; with a vast amount of other information; all this was so classified in the register that William could at once tell the wealth of the kingdom, who were the most powerful men in it, and the claims of each to the estates they held. We see by it that many Englishmen still kept estates, some of which were granted to them direct from the king, and others held on terms of service from the barons, who were mostly Norman, but occasionally English. That record is known as the *Domesday-book*; it was so called because men's claims to estates were judged from it. It is especially useful to the Church as showing without doubt the possessions which it held in the days before the conquest, for it tells us that most of its present landed heritage comes to it with a prescriptive title of nearly a thousand years. It gives us a trustworthy idea of the condition of the people and the way they tilled their lands. The great survey was finished by Easter, 1086, but it does not recognize anything that was done in the reign of Godwine's son Harold. So far as William was concerned, who claimed to succeed Edward the confessor, Harold had never been king. In consequence of the survey, all the landowners were summoned to meet the king at Salisbury plain in August of that same year and were made to take an *oath of allegiance* to King William, and swear to obey him, and fight for him, before all other men; such services to be rendered in proportion to their registered possession, whether they were lay-owners or ecclesiastical possessors; because, hitherto, the spirituality had furnished very little to the national needs, most of their property having been exempt. Thus the separating tendencies of the feudal system were disciplined and organized; and from that time no one has ever thought of setting up more than one king in England. In fact the Realm became under William as united and organized as the Church had been from the days

of Theodore. But "everywhere the Church became the bond of union between the Norman lords and the English people, just as its continuity had been the main instrument in preserving the cohesion of the nation."

8. Death of the conqueror.—King William died in the year 1087. His reign on the whole had been beneficial to the Church in our country, and might have been more so had he consolidated the great works he had begun. Those who had succeeded him cared for nothing but to plunder the Church. William had undoubtedly oppressed the people, but the selling of Church preferments was his greatest abhorrence. All the men he chose to rule either diocese or monastery, notwithstanding that they were foreigners, were selected for their intrinsic worth, the result being that the Church was thoroughly well disciplined. The monastic system was entirely in the ascendant in William's reign, and the Benedictine rule, the severity of which had been for a long time treated with great laxity, was then revived with greater stringency by the introduction to England of the *Cluniac monks*, so called from Cluny, in Burgundy, where the community was first founded in the year 912 by an abbot named Berno. The monks of Cluny added many new and severe regulations to those formulated by Benedict of Nursia (see page 45). Many of the earliest members of the Cluniac community were remarkable for their statesmanship and great learning. All luxury was forbidden by their rules, but this condition they soon relaxed in the matter of fabrics for the Church services, because they considered it their duty to honour God by giving to Him of their very best. The civil affairs of the country, with which the Church was necessarily bound up, were not quite so prosperous; for in order to preserve his kingdom from the Scots and the Danes who still made periodical raids on the coast, William caused the whole of the north of England to be laid waste; also he destroyed some villages and churches in Hampshire to make for himself the hunting-ground or forest which afterwards became so fatal a spot for his descendants. William met his death abroad. He had been sacking the town of Nantes to avenge a silly personal jest on himself, and whilst giving directions for the burning of its church, his horse swerved at some sparks and threw him forward on his saddle, causing internal injuries from which he never recovered. He was feared and courted in life, but shockingly neglected in his death; his dead body even, so it is said, being stripped and left untended. Even when it was taken to Caen to be buried in St. Stephen's church, which he had

founded there, a young man claimed that William had wrongfully wrested the ground on which the church stood from one of his subjects, and refused to let the corpse be interred until the ground was paid for. In his last sickness William wrote to Lanfranc recommending that his son William Rufus should succeed him. He is also said to have expressed penitence for his oppression and wasting of England.

9. Archbishop Lanfranc.—The archbishop who was appointed on William's nomination by the council of Winchester, in 1070, deserves more than passing notice. He was born in Italy in 1005, and left an orphan at an early age. He became a most successful school-teacher. Once, when travelling, he was robbed in a forest and tied to a tree; a ragged monk released him who proved to be the abbot of Bec. Lanfranc asked to be admitted to that monastery, of which he afterwards became the prior and teacher. There he gained the notice of Duke William of Normandy, and became his friend. When William married within the prohibited degrees of the Church Lanfranc was sent to Rome to obtain a dispensation, which was granted on condition



that the duke, and Matilda his wife, should each found a monastery and two hospitals. William built St. Stephen's at Caen, and made Lanfranc the abbot. On being asked to accept the archbishopric of Canterbury, Lanfranc at first refused because he did not know the English tongue. This, however, he quickly mastered, and proved an excellent primate. Lanfranc was learned, brave, and just. Although an Italian, and bred to Norman ways, he soon learned that the English Church had been independent from Theodore's time, and when he found that William's half-brother Odo, bishop of

ROCHESTER CASTLE (*pages 151 and 156*). Bayeux and earl of Kent, had

seized on many lands belonging to the primatial see as fiefs of the earldom, and had also appropriated the revenues of the see from the time of Stigand's deposition, he brought a suit against him in the national council which compelled Odo to restore the misappropriations. With the restored funds so obtained, Lanfranc commenced to rebuild Canterbury cathedral, assisted to rebuild St. Alban's-abbey nave and transepts very much as they are at this day, and gave much alms to the



ST. ALBAN'S-ABBAY BEFORE THE MODERN RESTORATION.

poor. He had to go to Rome for his pall, but he went reluctantly. It had been part of Hildebrand's plan to compel the periodical attendance of representative prelates in the imperial city of Rome, but Lanfranc, having received all the benefit he was likely to obtain from the papacy, refused to go again, even under threatened penalties. One of the first difficulties Lanfranc had to contend with in England was the question of his precedence over the northern primate. Archbishop Thomas, who had been appointed to the see of York soon after Lanfranc came to Canterbury, refused for a long time to pay him canonical obedience; and it was not until five years after that the vexed question of seniority was decided by a synod in Lanfranc's favour. The right of the arch-

bishop of Canterbury to be primate of all England has never since been contested, although there have been many times when archbishops of York have refused to render canonical obedience to the southern primate. Archbishop Lanfranc lived for two years after William the conqueror died, but his place was not filled up for several years.

10. Disunion of "East" and "West."—During Lanfranc's life several important events took place in the Church universal; *e.g.* the controversies which had taken place between the patriarchate of Constantinople and the patriarchate of Rome came to a crisis, and ended in what is known as the *Great Schism*. The pope of Rome, who then claimed the title of "universal bishop" which Gregory the great had said none but an antichrist could assume (see page 40), *excommunicated* the eastern Church for having denied the double procession of the Holy Ghost from the Father and the Son. The patriarch of Constantinople retorted by excommunicating the pope of Rome and his adherents.¹ There was no general council held at which this subject could be officially adjusted, and therefore the Church in England up till that time, A.D. 1054, being altogether independent of the Roman see, was not a party to the schism. Afterwards, when the popes obtained great influence here, the English Church, through its foreign prelates, informally advocated the doctrines by which the western Church had forced the eastern branch into an hostile attitude; but centuries later it was explained by a saintly English bishop (*Ken*) that "the faith of the universal Church before the disunion of east and west" was the only true faith for the Church of England.²

11. Changes in doctrine and discipline.—There were also important interpretations of doctrine respecting the Holy Communion broached about that time, and Lanfranc in a learned treatise maintained that the earthly substances of bread and wine in the eucharist are changed by consecration into the substance of the Lord's Body and Blood, although the appearances and tastes of the earthly elements remain. This is called *Transubstantiation*, but Lanfranc's

¹ "Excommunication" is the sentence by which churchmen are deprived of the privilege of receiving the sacrament of Holy Communion; but it had this further effect, that all other Christian men were charged to avoid the society of those placed under its ban. The *boycotting* of modern times is a similar infliction, but it lacks the religious element that made excommunication so terrible in its effects.

² The controversies between east and west had been going on for centuries, and some consider that Ken's epigram refers to the fifth century, before they began.

interpretation was a new one so far as the English Church was concerned. There were many learned doctors who held different views upon the question, and Pope Gregory VII. desired that it should be left open. In after years men and women were burnt for denying a doctrine identical with that which Lanfranc had asserted. *Clerical celibacy* was another prominent question during Lanfranc's primacy, but as the feeling in England was so largely in favour of clemency towards the secular clergy, the pope's desire that married clergy should be compelled to desert their wives was not enforced, except in the case of cathedral canons; but at the same time it was arranged that no married men should in future be ordained to the priesthood.



SALISBURY (SARUM) CATHEDRAL.

12. The Liturgical use of Sarum.—Last, but not least, among the changes witnessed in the English Church, while Lanfranc was archbishop, was a revision of the English liturgies by *Osmund*, bishop of Sarum, which became many generations later the basis of our present Prayer-book. The scandal created by the Glastonbury fracas under Thurstan (page 143), and objections against the old diversities of ritual, created a demand for an uniform service book; and Osmund set himself to compile one, extracting from the various diocesan "uses"

such portions as would make his work more popular. He was successful in his efforts; for although different compilations (such as the liturgies of Bangor, York, and Hereford) remained in use, Osmund's *Use of Sarum* was by far the greatest in demand for nearly 500 years. All those "uses" were written in the Latin tongue. It would have been considered irreverent to translate Church services into the Norman or English or Celtic languages, although simple portions such as the Lord's prayer, the creed, and ten commandments had often been transposed into the dialects of the peasantry.

13. Norman architecture.—Many noble churches were in course of erection throughout England during the reigns of William the conqueror and his sons. They mark an epoch in Church architecture both for their simplicity and durability. The style is an improved Romanesque; it had been introduced to this country in the time of Edward the confessor, but after the conquest the Normans everywhere set themselves to repair the churches that the wars had dismantled, or build better and nobler ones if they considered the older ones to be unsuitable.

The chapel of St. John, in the Tower of London (built for the conqueror by Gundulph, bishop of Rochester), is a perfect illustration of Norman work; the cathedral church of Durham (see page 165) is much grander, but of later date; the country, however, abounds with such. If the country could not furnish suitable ma-



ST. JOHN'S CHAPEL IN THE TOWER.

terials, they brought such from abroad, as when William sent to Caen for stone to build Battle-abbey. The nave and transepts of St. Alban's-abbey (see page 152), of which Paul de Caen was the architect, were built of Roman bricks procured from the ruins of the contiguous city of

Verulam. The pillars in many of our cathedrals, as at Norwich, Carlisle, and Hereford, are built after the fashion which Normans introduced. Rochester castle (page 151) is an excellent specimen of the feudal fortresses which Norman barons built all over England. With all their faults the Normans were a religious people, and they preferred to exercise frugality in food or dress rather than stint the house of God. As we look upon the massive grandeur of their handiwork to-day, after a lapse of 800 years, we realize the poet's description that :—

“They built in marble; built as they
 Who hoped these stones should see the day
 When Christ should come; and that these walls
 Might stand o'er them till judgment calls.”



PART III

The Era of Oppression

CHAPTER X. (A.D. 1089–1109)

THE DAYS OF ANSELM OF CANTERBURY

“Record we too, with just and faithful pen,
That many hooded cenobites there are,
Who in their private cells have yet a care
Of public quiet ; unambitious men,
Counsellors for the world, of piercing ken ;
Whose fervent exhortations from afar
Move princes to their duty, peace or war.”

1. William Rufus and the Church.—William the conqueror had acknowledged before his death that his family had no right of succession to the English throne, because he had obtained it by force ; but by the influence of his friend Lanfranc his third son *William Rufus* was elected by the nobles to succeed him. Bishop Odo, who was now released from confinement, headed a rebellion against the new king in favour of William the conqueror's eldest son Robert ; but this was quickly stamped out, and so long as Lanfranc was alive William Rufus ruled well. When the primate died, the king's true character developed itself. He appointed as justiciar a priest named *Ralph*, whom men called the Firebrand. Ralph was a great financier, and gained his promotion by suggesting to the king a systematic plan of administering church patronage for the benefit of the royal exchequer. During William II.'s reign, when any important ecclesiastical benefice fell vacant, a complete inventory was made of all its temporalities or secular possessions in order that they might be duly transferred to the successor ; but those records were soon used for another purpose, viz. : to estimate the market value of the benefices. When an abbot or bishop died, Ralph seized the temporalities and held them for William Rufus, until some one was willing to pay the value of them to the king, as the price of preferment to the vacancy, on the pretence that, according to the law of feudal tenure, the revenues of all estates and possessions held direct from the king lapsed to the crown on the death of the holder, until the inheritor or successor paid a relief to the feudal lord.

That happened when Lanfranc died, and for four years no one was appointed as archbishop; all the revenues of the see during that time passed into the hands of the king. The public sale and purchase of Church offices, which we call *simony*, was of course a sacrilegious profanation on the part of the crown, and it resulted in grievous scandal to the Church, because sanctity and merit were no longer considered testimonials for advancement, but had to give way to the power of gold. When the gift of God could be purchased with money the respect for holy things at once declined. Contempt for religion was openly shown by the king's courtiers, until Christianity seemed likely to perish out of the land. The avarice of Rufus extended to secular appointments also, and to make himself ruler of Wales, he offered to such of his knights as cared to undertake such an expedition, all the land each was able to conquer in that province. As the result of such permission an irregular conquest of Wales went on for some time.

2. Anselm of Bec.—After four years of that distressful state of things, the king was taken ill at *Gloucester*, and his conscience, such as he had, told him that his oppression unfitted him for making his peace with God. Thinking that he was going to die he desired to make a tardy recompense for his sacrilegious reign by appointing one of the holiest men in Christendom to the vacant archbishopric, on the urgent petitions of the nobles. His name was *Anselm*, a native of Aosta in Piedmont, who had succeeded Lanfranc as prior, and afterwards as abbot, of Bec, in Normandy. He had often visited Lanfranc in England, and was now called to the sick king's bed to receive his penitent confession. Anselm refused the archbishopric, for he said he knew the king's sickness was not unto death, and he was unwilling to share with so wicked a man the government of the English Church and Realm. The tears and entreaties of the nobles were alike unavailing to alter his desire, but they forced him into compliance with their wishes and actually used violence in attempting to place the pastoral staff into his right hand, which he as resolutely kept clenched. At last they held it against his closed fist during the ceremony of election, poor Anselm crying the while "it is nought that ye do, it is nought." *Eadmer*, a contemporary chronicler, tells us that as they led Anselm from the king's chamber to confirm his election in the adjoining abbey church, which had been lately magnificently rebuilt, he begged the prelates to regard the "plough of the Church" by which God's husbandry was tilled. "This plough in England," said Anselm,

"two specially strong oxen draw and govern, the king and the archbishop of Canterbury; . . . the one in secular justice and dominion, the other in Divine teaching and authority. One of these oxen, Archbishop Lanfranc, is dead; the other, with the untameable ferocity of a bull, is now found in possession of the plough, and you, instead of the dead ox, wish to yoke me, an old and feeble sheep, with the untamed bull!" The elect archbishop, knowing the kind of monarch he



GLOUCESTER CATHEDRAL (ABBEY) CHURCH.

had to deal with, was careful to stipulate for the restoration of the alienated lands belonging to the see; and at length before the national council at Winchester, Anselm was invested with the pastoral staff and ring, and did homage for all the temporalities as Lanfranc had done before him. As the king's *man* he had by feudal law to pay succession duty or "relief." For this he offered 500 marks, a very large sum in those days. The king had expected far more, and refused to accept the sum, so Anselm distributed it amongst the poor and refused to give the king anything at all. He was enthroned at Canterbury, on September 5, 1093, but on that very day, Ralph, the firebrand justiciar served him with a writ to answer in the king's court for an

imputed breach of the king's prerogative. That was a warning of the troubles that were coming. On December 4, Anselm was consecrated by the archbishop of York to be "Primate of all Britain." For awhile there was peace between Anselm and the king, but within a year there arose a memorable struggle between them on the question of the royal prerogatives, which continued for several years.



ST. JOHN'S CHURCH, LATERAN PALACE, ROME.

3. Rival popes.—Early in 1095, Anselm desired leave from the king to visit Rome to receive his pall from the pope. "From which pope?" demanded Rufus, for there were again two claimants to the papal tiara; Clement III., who reigned at St. Angelo, and Urban II., who occupied the Lateran palace, each of whom spent most of their time in excommunicating the friends of the other. As yet the Church of England had recognized neither. France and Normandy had admitted Urban's claims, and as the abbey of Bec was in Normandy, Anselm had declared before his consecration that he considered Urban to be the true pope. He answered the king's question accordingly. "But," said Rufus, "by my father's laws no one may acknowledge a pope in England without my sanction, and I have not acknowledged

Urban." To settle the dispute, an assembly of peers was held at *Rockingham*, beginning on mid-Lent Sunday in 1095. Anselm desired to make the matter one of religious conviction; but the nobles pointed out that he was charged with violating the English customs and laws, and declined to discuss it other than as a question of feudal suzerainty. On the second day of the meeting the prelates and barons distinctly accused Anselm of attempting to deprive the king of his sovereign power. "Give up this Urban," said they, "cast off this yoke of bondage; act in freedom as becomes an archbishop of Canterbury, and submit to the king's will." But he refused. The next day, when the bishop of Durham declared that Anselm should be prosecuted for high treason if Urban were not renounced, the archbishop denied that his allegiance to that pope was inconsistent with his oath of fidelity to the king. The essence of the conflict appears in that reply, and in the rejoinder of Rufus that "while he lived he would endure no equal in his realm." Anselm, however, was declared an outlaw, and, by the king's command, the bishops renounced their obedience to him. The nobles, distinguishing between Anselm as the king's vassal and as their primate, refused to comply with a similar mandate, for they said:—"we were never the archbishop's *men*, we have not sworn fealty to him as the bishops have done, and therefore have no oath to abjure."

Many of the archbishop's friends were now imprisoned or banished, and the revenues of the cathedrals once more seized by the king. So the affair remained for months. Meanwhile the wily monarch had sent some ambassadors to Rome to find out which pope was accounted the lawful one in that city. If a pall was necessary to make an archbishop, it did not concern Rufus where it came from; but what did trouble him was that one of his subjects should consider a foreign bishop his king's superior in any matter. Above all, he would like to be rid of such an independent man as Anselm proved to be. His messengers were instructed to approach the popular pope, and obtain from him a pall, so that the king might bestow it on whom he pleased. Of course Urban was only too pleased to be recognized by the king of England, and receive the homage of his envoys and their valuable presents. He sent a pall back with them in charge of the bishop of Albano, whom William Rufus received with due honour, thus publicly acknowledging Urban as rightful pope, but he was unable to persuade the legate to declare the deposition of Anselm; that was an impossible course even for the pope to pursue. At least,

thought Rufus, he will allow me to invest him with his badge of office. "No," said Anselm, for his predecessor had received the pall from none other than the pope. The legate, therefore, laid it on the high altar of Canterbury cathedral, whence Anselm, barefooted, took it, and claimed thereby to have received his commission direct from St. Peter. Rufus tried to obtain from him a suitable payment in consideration of his not having to go to Rome for the pall, but this too the archbishop refused, and the king was obliged to give way.

After that reconciliation an important episcopal act was performed by Anselm, for, in 1096, Malchus, one of the monks of Winchester, was consecrated to the see of Waterford, in Ireland, then first created, at the request of Donald, bishop of Dublin. Both those bishops, Donald and Malchus, professed canonical obedience to the see of Canterbury; which shows that the Churches of England and Ireland were then in close communion, if not actually united with each other; and that the importance of Canterbury was growing.

4. Anselm's appeal to Rome.—About that time what are known as the *Crusades* commenced. They were warlike enterprises started in defence of the Christian liberty against attacks from the Saracens and Turks in the east, especially in the holy land. They were called the Crusades because all who took part in them wore the badge of the cross on some part of their attire. To distinguish the people of the different nations who took part in them, coloured crosses were adopted. William Rufus had an eye to the conquest of Normandy from his brother Robert, but Robert joined in the enthusiasm of the Crusaders and willingly relinquished for a time his government of Normandy on condition of receiving a large sum of money from Rufus for the equipment of his expedition. To raise that money the English king made heavy calls on his feudal barons, and on the abbots and prelates who held their benefices as his *men*. So exacting were his demands that the clergy were obliged to surrender the sacred vessels of the sanctuaries, and strip the churches of their marketable treasures. He also wanted money and men for his conquest in Wales, which the prelates as well as the barons were bound by the feudal laws to provide in their measure. Archbishop Anselm was not behindhand in performing these obligations, and even went so far as to advance some funds entrusted to him for the cathedral chapter, pledging part of his archiepiscopal revenues for their repayment. But Rufus wanted occasion to deprive Anselm, and he complained that the archbishop's quota of men

and means to the Welsh army was insufficient. He cited Anselm to exonerate himself before the king's court. As this was not a question of ecclesiastical order, but one of feudal service in which the king was absolute master, the archbishop was now in a dilemma. Therefore, for his personal safety, Anselm refused to attend the court, and when his case came on for hearing he craved permission through some of the nobles to go to Rome for advice. The king thrice refused this request, but at last offered to permit his absence from the kingdom on condition that he should not take out of the country any treasures belonging to the crown, and that he should not attempt to introduce papal jurisdiction into England by appealing to the see of Rome against his king. Anselm evasively fenced with this proviso, but the king, who was as heartily glad to be rid of the archbishop as the latter was to go, finally agreed to his unconditional departure. Anselm dressed himself in the guise of a pilgrim with his scrip and staff (see page 214), and appeared before William Rufus to bestow upon him his parting blessing. They never met again ; and as soon as Anselm had left the kingdom Rufus confiscated once more the revenues of the see. Arrived at Rome, Anselm was received with great respect, but he soon found that the theories he had imbibed at Bec respecting the immaculate and infallible pope had no practical reality, for Urban would rather



WILLIAM RUFUS.

dissemble to Anselm, who upheld the spiritual claims of the papacy, than forfeit his chance of temporal jurisdiction in England by offending its king. After travelling about Italy for some time as the honoured guest of different monasteries by reason of his learning and sanctity, during which time also he wrote his well-known work on the Incarnation of the Saviour, Anselm was invited to attend the council of Bari, at which the alleged heresy of the eastern Church, respecting the *procession of the Holy Ghost*, was to be debated. Anselm was introduced by Urban to the council as an equal, as the pope or "apostolic vicar of a second world," that is, chief bishop of another country, for

"pope" only meant "father," and had no higher signification than the term "patriarch," by which the chief bishops of the eastern Churches are known. Anselm's pulpit eloquence and great learning caused the council to decide unanimously against the eastern doctrine, and enlisted the sympathy of the bishops present on his personal behalf. Between such a champion of Church doctrine and the tyrannous king of England Urban no longer hesitated, and he urged the council to permit sentence of anathema and excommunication to be issued against Rufus, which was only averted at the entreaty of Anselm. Messengers were sent to England with letters from the pope, demanding from the king restitution of Anselm's temporalities; but William Rufus expelled them from his dominions, and the historian of Malmesbury says that *Warewast*, one of the English clergy, was sent with a large bribe to the pope, to prevent Anselm's cause coming to a satisfactory termination; although "he blushes to record that in so great a man as Urban, self-respect and zeal for God had fallen so low that he perverted justice for money." In the meantime, with the aid of Ralph, the justiciar, who had become bishop of Durham and 'general impleader and exactor of the whole kingdom,' William Rufus seized and sold the revenues of many Church preferments. In the year 1099 a synod was held at Rome which condemned all ecclesiastical appointments made by laymen; for in other countries of Europe, as well as in England, there had been from the time of Hildebrand a conflict between the emperors and kings against the popes on the subject of church patronage, and the right to invest the bishops with the insignia of office,¹ which is said to have lasted fifty-six years, occasioned sixty battles between the papal and secular armies (for the pope had then a standing army), and the loss of two millions of lives. Anselm hoped that his cause would be finally decided at that synod, but he was doomed to disappointment; and when he found that the pope had no real intention of assisting him against the king, he left Rome and went to Lyons. The next year Pope Urban died. William Rufus, too, was shot by an arrow when hunting in the New Forest which his

¹ *Investiture* means the ceremony by which a bishop was formally invested with the right to exercise his judicial functions; just as the ceremony of transferring an estate from one person to another by means of symbols, referred to on page 105, gave the right to hold property. The "investiture" of a bishop consisted in presenting him with a *pastoral staff* to signify his authority over the flock committed to him, and a *ring* which symbolized his marriage to the Church. Before Anselm's time the English kings had always exercised the right of bestowing those symbols.

father had desolated Hampshire to make, and where his brother Richard had met his death in some mysterious way. He was buried at Winchester, and succeeded by his younger brother Henry, A.D. 1100.

5. Anselm and Henry I.—Duke Robert of Normandy was the rightful successor to Rufus, but he was absent on the Crusade in Palestine. Knowing himself to be an usurper, it was Henry's policy to be conciliatory, and he, perceiving that the simony and sacrilege of his brother had alienated the influence of the Church, decided to abandon all such evil practices. Ralph, the notorious bishop of Durham, who had by that time completed the erection of the nave and aisles of Durham cathedral, he imprisoned in the Tower, and Anselm he recalled from Lyons. On his coronation he made the customary declaration or charter of liberties, by which he proposed to govern the kingdom. Its first article runs thus :—"I make the Holy Church of God free ; I will neither sell it nor put it to farm. I will not, when an archbishop, bishop, or abbot dies, take anything from the domain of the Church or from its men, until a successor comes

into possession." At the same time Henry refused to surrender the ancient rights of the English kings to be supreme in their own dominions. Therefore he required that Anselm should do homage to him as his man, and also be re-invested in his bishopric. The demand was strenuously resisted by Anselm, perhaps not because he objected personally to be invested by a secular prince, for he had been invested by Rufus some years before, and so had previous archbishops of Canterbury ; but because



DURHAM CATHEDRAL.

a *synod of Rome*, in 1075, had declared that any clergy who accepted lay investiture should be excommunicated. Being a foreigner he thought it right to look upon the pope of Rome as his spiritual superior, ignoring the fact that England had always been governed by independent laws. Another controversy ensued between king and archbishop, resulting in no less than five distinct appeals to Rome.

6. Embassies to Rome.—Paschal II. was pope when Henry came to the throne, and Anselm refused to be re-invested without his permission. The king agreed that this permission should be sought, and William Warelwast was sent to Rome for that purpose. Pope Paschal, in his reply, refused to relax the canons of the Roman synod. On hearing this, Henry declared that the opinion of the pope, or the decisions of a Roman council, were alike indifferent to him, “I will not lose,” he said, “the customs of my predecessors, nor endure in my kingdom one who is not my subject.” Thereupon Anselm offered to leave England again. But his influence was of use to the king in conciliating the nobles in the event of Duke Robert returning to claim the crown, therefore to postpone extreme measures, it was arranged to send a second, and this time a double embassy to Rome—the prelates of York, Norwich, and Chester (Lichfield) on the part of the king; and two monks, named Baldwin and Alexander, on behalf of Anselm. The king’s advocates explained to the pope that if his decision



HENRY THE FIRST.

were not favourable to Henry all communication between England and Rome should cease, and the contributions of Rome-shot be withdrawn. In reply, the pope wrote to Anselm, bidding him persist in refusing to receive investiture from the king. He also sent a written message to Henry, which though complimentary, did not concede the point the king desired. The replies were read before a great council of prelates and nobles at London, in 1102, and the king was still more incensed; but the bishops who had been his ambassadors said that the pope had promised, as a personal favour to Henry, that the

see of Rome would not object to his investing according to the custom

of England. Anselm's monks denied that the pope had sent such a contradictory message, and an altercation ensued which ended in a third appeal to Rome, by Anselm, to inquire about the apparent duplicity.

7. Distressful condition of the Church.—During those appeals Church work in England was at a standstill. When bishops or abbots died, or were deposed, others were elected on the king's nomination, but Anselm refused to consecrate them unless Henry surrendered his claim to invest them. The archbishop of York would have consecrated them, but they refused to be hallowed by any other than Anselm, for which refusal they were banished from the country. All this time Anselm was in possession of the revenues of the archbishopric, and was not prevented from performing many official duties pending the final decision on the subject of investiture. For instance, when Henry desired to marry Matilda, daughter of the king of Scotland, against which marriage there was the canonical impediment that she had been educated in a convent and forced to wear the veil of a nun, Anselm called a synod together which freed her from the obligation of her monastic vows. Again, in the autumn of 1102, he summoned a council of prelates and nobles for the correction of morals among the clergy, which were in a sad state just then, owing to the number of ill-disposed persons who had purchased preferment in the Church during the reign of William Rufus. At that council six abbots were deposed for simony, and "many other clerics, both French and English, lost their staves and authority, which they had unjustly acquired, or lived on with iniquity." About that time the archbishop of Vienna came to England and claimed authority over its bishops in the name of the pope. So distinct an infringement of the rights of English primates was strenuously resisted; especially by Anselm, who was jealous for his office from whatever source attacked; consequently the foreign legate had to quit England forthwith.

8. Anselm leaves England.—By Lent, 1103, Anselm's messengers returned from Rome with confirmatory letters of the previous written documents, indignantly repudiating the verbal message of the bishops and excommunicating them as having been false to their trust. Henry was now thoroughly roused, he refused to look at these letters, saying:—"What has the pope to do with my affairs? If any one deprives me of that which my predecessors enjoyed he is mine enemy." He therefore demanded of Anselm that he should

submit to the "customs of the fathers," and do him homage. Anselm, impracticable as ever, declared that he would rather lose his life than yield. But Henry, who had been kind and forbearing all through, did not want to proceed against him harshly, and suggested a fourth appeal to Rome, this time arranging that Anselm should himself make the journey and endeavour to obtain some concession from the pope which might satisfy the archbishop's conscience, and enable him at the same time to conform to English law. When Anselm reached Rome



THE CITY OF LYONS (FRANCE).

he found that Warelwast had outrun him and backed up his arguments for the king by a valuable contribution of Peter's-pence. When Warelwast haughtily declared that Henry would rather give up his crown than surrender his right to invest prelates, Paschal sternly replied that "he would not, before God, to save his head, suffer him to have it." But Warelwast was very wary, and although the pope gave Anselm his blessing and temporized a good deal, he obtained from Paschal a friendly letter for king Henry, which, though not surrendering any point of importance, left room for further negotiations,

according to the usual diplomacy of the Roman see. Anselm then went to his old friend, the archbishop of Lyons; Warelwast followed him there, and explained that unless he was prepared to accede to Henry's wishes, it would be safer for him not to return to England; so Anselm decided to remain abroad, and Henry confiscated the temporal possessions of his archbishopric. Even Paschal had pointed out that the cause of Christianity in England was suffering from this long continued quarrel, and the frequent absences of its chief pastor; but Anselm preferred that the Church should remain rent and crippled rather than he would give way on any single point. For a long time he stayed at Lyons in the hope that the pope might excommunicate Henry, which Paschal knew better than to do. *Eadmer* the chronicler, Anselm's friend and biographer, records a letter which was sent from England to the absent archbishop, describing the dreadful condition of the English Church through his obstinacy, and pointing out that every Englishman considered the points in dispute to be worthless, and a contrivance of the devil to vex the English Church. But even that failed to shake Anselm's determination.

9. Reconciliation of Henry I. and Anselm.—Eighteen months elapsed before Anselm, who in other respects has an enviable reputation for shrewdness and perspicacity, perceived that Paschal was only cajoling him, and that the popes of Rome had not that supreme authority all over the world which he had for so long imagined them to possess. With the concurrence of the archbishop of Lyons, he determined to excommunicate the king of England on his own account, and explained his intention to *Adela of Blois*, sister of Henry. She, fearing that this would put a weapon in the hands of her brother's enemies, promoted a meeting between Anselm and Henry, near Chartres, at which the king offered all sorts of inducements for the archbishop's immediate return. Henry had previously sent Warelwast on a fifth embassy to Rome, which was less unsatisfactory than the other four, seeing that Paschal was now willing to compromise the dispute by conceding the right of homage to the king which Pope Urban had refused to grant; on condition that the investiture of ring and staff, which symbolized the spiritual authority, should belong to the Church. On that understanding, Anselm returned to his long forsaken flock, whereat the country greatly rejoiced. The wearisome dispute came to an end on August 1, 1107, when a great assembly of

bishops, abbots, and nobles met at London in the king's palace, at which the king agreed that from henceforth no persons should be invested in England with pastoral staff or ring, either by the king or any lay hand ; and Anselm, on his part, agreed that no one elected to prelacy should be debarred from consecration because he had done homage to the king, prior to the acceptance of that compromise.

10. Anselm's closing days.—The result of the quarrel respecting investiture was a victory for neither party, but a check upon both. The pope was distinctly given to understand that he had no jurisdiction over temporal affairs in England, and the king was taught that bishops were not to be elevated and promoted on the terms on which he made a knight or a baron ; nor was their office his, in the sense that he could sell it. Anselm's opposition to William Rufus and Henry I. had rescued the Church of England from feudal vassalage and temporal despotism, but his action had brought it within the grasp of a more odious spiritual autocracy, from which it took 400 years to shake itself free. From that time forward, until the year 1531, it writhed and struggled under the dominion of the popes of Rome, who were no longer merely bishops, but also powerful secular princes. At first the harm that Norman princes and foreign bishops had done to the Church was not apparent. It was a gradual and insinuating evil. We shall misunderstand the position of the Church of England to-day if we forget that the great body of the laity have always been as truly an integral a part of the Church as the clergy who minister to them, and the majority of English churchmen are not to be ignored when we think of the days of Anselm. Before Anselm returned to England, Henry had promised to restore the confiscated revenues of Canterbury, to withdraw the licence for married clergy to retain their wives on payment of heavy fines, to give up the practice of nominating bishops without the consent of the clergy in the cathedral chapters, and to allow the archbishop to convene synods at pleasure, providing the king's consent was first obtained. The king was willing that the pope should exercise *spiritual* jurisdiction in England, but stipulated that no papal legate should enter this country without special royal licence. On those terms the work of the Church was allowed to proceed. The vacant bishoprics and abbeys were all filled up, and churches and monasteries built and restored. During Anselm's primacy some of our cathedrals were rebuilt, and not a few retain to this day traces of the masonry which he looked upon (see page 196).

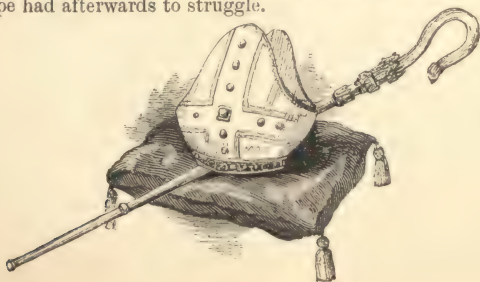


ELY CATHEDRAL

He was present at the re-dedication of Winchester cathedral (1093), the transepts of which remain as they were then, and he may have attended at the opening of Norwich cathedral in 1101. Worcester cathedral retains part of Bishop Wulfstan's great work, then fresh from the workman's hammer. Rochester and St. Albans both stand to this day much as their builders Bishop Gundulph and Paul of Caen left them. But Anselm had no personal share in any of those grand structures. In his own cathedral of Canterbury progress was made in building the choir from the designs of Ernulph, prior of Saint Augustine's monastery, but that had a very short existence. William Warelwast, who had so often championed the cause of the king of England before the pope, was then bishop of Exeter; and he is credited with having commenced building the present cathedral in that city on a very massive plan, but not until after Anselm's death. The last important event in Anselm's primacy connected with English episcopacy, was the creation of the bishopric of Ely. *Hervé le Breton*, bishop of Bangor, had been placed as acting abbot over the monastery church there, and as the see of Lincoln was then of unwieldy extent, he suggested to the king, with the consent of the monks, that the diocese should be divided, and that the abbey church of Ely, then just completed, might be the seat of a new diocese. The bishop of Lincoln agreed, and that arrangement was carried out just before Anselm died.

11. Opinions on Anselm's character.—The aged primate passed away April 21, 1109. Several monographs of his life and character have appeared in recent times, in most of which he is represented as a saintly hero, worthy of all honour, fighting for the privileges of the Church against immoral and tyrannous kings. But there is a great difference between the Church as Anselm understood it and a national Church. His training led him to uphold ideas which sought to make bishops of Rome autocrats of an universal despotism. In such a theory patriotism and loyalty finds no place. Duke William came to a land with independent civil and ecclesiastical traditions, and both he and his sons swore to uphold them. They introduced Norman bishops, Norman abbots, and Norman secular barons, but they, like their kings, "realized their new position as Englishmen by adoption, entering immediately on all the claims of their predecessors, and declaring that, so far as their power went, the churches they espoused should suffer no detriment" (*Stubbs*). Anselm did not enter into that patriotic spirit. He recognized no law that was opposed to the

decrees of bishops of Rome. True it is that he claimed to live up to higher than worldly principles of action, and seek first and last what seemed to him to be the glory of God ; but the ordinary men of his day, the prelates and barons of England, were unable to appreciate his efforts to turn questions of civil obedience into high theological doctrines. And it is true that English kings were very reprehensible in withholding and selling preferments ; but even that practice had a shadow of reason in it for men of those times, because at the conquest the greater part of English land was held by ecclesiastics whose increasing possessions made them haughty and rebellious. Some checks were needed, but neither kings nor counsellors had then found out the right ones. There is, however, no need to excuse the faults of kings, nor to throw doubts upon the piety or conscientiousness of Anselm. The issue comes within a much narrower compass. He assailed the ancient prerogatives of English kings, and they did right to maintain them. Anselm was entirely unjustified in his desire to set up the authority of an unacknowledged pontiff over that of his lawful sovereign, and in presuming that the declarations of a synod of Rome could override the ancient laws and customs of England. When the position he assumed—to maintain which he neglected the greater duties of his primacy and spent long years abroad—is considered apart from his private and personal virtues, it will be seen that no man did more to establish precedents which compromised the independence of the English Church and nation, and encouraged the encroachments that resulted in the more direct control of bishops of Rome. That Anselm did everything from the purest motives is altogether beside the question. It is far more to our purpose to know that what he did materially strengthened the central power of the popes, against which all Europe had afterwards to struggle.



CHAPTER XI. (A.D. 1109–1154)

LOSS OF INDEPENDENCE

“The ancient thrones of Christendom are stuff
For occupation of a magic wand,
And 'tis the pope that wields it.

‘God willeth it,’ from hill to hill rebounds,
And in awe-stricken countries far and nigh,
Through ‘nature’s hollow arch,’ that voice resounds.”

1. Supremacy of the see of Canterbury.—King Henry I. lived for many years after the death of Anselm, during which the Church of England progressed favourably on the whole, now and then showing signs that its independence was not wholly gone, and that its traditions were still dear to it. Just before Anselm's death, *Thomas*, archbishop elect of York, had declined to take the customary oath of canonical obedience to the see of Canterbury (just as his namesake had objected in Lanfranc's time), imagining that the metropolitan pall rendered him independent of the southern primate; and in this he was supported by the clergy of his province, who were jealous of the supremacy of the archbishop of Canterbury. Knowing that Anselm's days on earth were numbered, Thomas made all sorts of excuses to put off his own consecration, so as to be spared the humiliating profession. But Anselm had so strictly enjoined the bishops, in the event of his death, not to consecrate Thomas without due submission, that he was obliged to give way. After the death of Anselm, Henry imitated his brother William Rufus in delaying the appointment of prelates to vacant bishoprics and abbacies. When he did fill them up he invariably preferred a foreigner, and Englishmen had to be content with the minor offices. It was five years before a successor to Anselm was found, during which the revenues of the see were paid into the royal treasury. At last *Ralph d'Escures*, who, as bishop of Rochester, had been performing the spiritual duties of the see of Canterbury during the interregnum, was translated to the primacy. He had previously been abbot of Séez in Normandy. Shortly after that appointment Thomas of York died, and was succeeded by *Thurstan*, who also hoped to increase the dignity of his see by refusing canonical submission to that of Canterbury. Naturally Ralph refused to consecrate him, so Thurstan went to Rheims and was consecrated by Calixtus II., one of two rival popes then governing

the Church of Rome, who conferred upon him the privilege of being independent of the southern province. This angered King Henry and the English prelates, and Thurstan was for a time banished from the realm; for it was a breach of the rights of the Church of England to have its prelates consecrated by a foreign Church, notwithstanding that it had been the custom for its archbishops to obtain palls from Rome. Although Thurstan refused to pay the customary submission to Canterbury, he was allowed to return to England, after a time, on condition that he did not perform any official duties outside the province of York. The presumptuous proceeding of Calixtus had a prejudicial effect on the councils of the realm, for "the assembling of national councils became almost a matter of impossibility, the disputes, amounting often to undignified altercations between the archbishops, disturbed the harmony of even the royal courts and national parliaments" (see Stubbs' *Const. Hist.* vol. ii, p. 198).



ST. DAVID'S CATHEDRAL.

2. Union of Welsh and English Churches.—In the year 1115 a most important event occurred to increase the supremacy of Canterbury. *The Church of Wales* (that is, the survival of the

ancient British Church), which had retained its independence up to that time, but which had been gradually drawn towards its more powerful Anglo-Saxon neighbour, was then about to be amalgamated with the English Church, as the country of Wales was afterwards to the English realm. There had for some time been an interchange of friendly offices between these Churches, as when a bishop of St. Davids did the work of an infirm bishop of Hereford before the conquest; and we have seen in the last chapter how a bishop of Bangor was translated to the see of Ely. The submission of Wales to the authority of the English throne in the time of William the conqueror; the constant ravages of the nobles in the time of William Rufus; and the colonizing of Ross, in Pembrokeshire, by Flemish emigrants in the reign of Henry I.; all served to make the Welsh people see that the only way of retaining their territory was to pay allegiance to the "right of might" by recognizing the supremacy of the English throne. The Church helped to make the way easy for that inevitable and desirable consolidation. There was no appreciable difference between the doctrine and discipline of the Welsh and English Churches at that time, they had both for a long while held intercourse with the continental Churches, and at length, by advice of Calixtus II., the prelates of Wales, through the bishop of St. Davids, took the oath of canonical obedience to Archbishop Ralph as their metropolitan. To compensate the Welsh Church in some measure for the loss of its archiepiscopal powers, Calixtus II. dignified David, the first bishop of the see of that name (see page 35) by the title of saint, and his shrine, after this canonization, became a centre of attraction for mediæval pilgrims. Both Lanfranc and Anselm had consecrated bishops for Ireland, and Anselm had extended the supremacy of his see to Scotland and the Orkneys. So that the English Church had then spiritual jurisdiction throughout the British Isles, the archbishop of Canterbury being recognized as primate of them all.

3. Papal encroachments.—The continued independence of the English Church was a matter of great concern to the popes. Paschal had complained bitterly that the see of Rome was treated with scant reverence by the English clergy; and when he sent Anselm (a nephew of Archbishop Anselm) to England as his legate with the pall for Archbishop Ralph, did not hesitate to reprimand King Henry for holding councils without his sanction and prohibiting the prosecution of appeals to his see. Warelwast, bishop of Exeter, once more visited

Rome to point out that the Church and Realm of England occupied a different position from the continental kingdoms and churches, and had always been independent of papal jurisdiction. In spite of this, Paschal sent the legate Anselm back again to England as *permanent official representative* of the see of Rome. All previous legates had come for some special purpose, such as the promotion of friendly communications between the popes and the English king; but



GENERAL VIEW OF ROME.

to set up a regular ambassador as the superior of the English primate was an unheard of claim. To make matters worse, King Henry was absent in Normandy when the legate Anselm produced his credentials, and there was a great stir in consequence among the prelates and nobles of England. When the king heard what had been done he was exceedingly angry, and expelled Anselm from the kingdom. Pope Paschal did not again attempt to interfere; but after the disputed election of a successor to Paschal had been decided in favour of Calixtus II., another effort was made to establish a permanent

papal legation in Britain. A nobleman named *Peter* was selected, of whose talent and dignity there were great accounts. He was permitted to visit England and present his claim, but the action of Calixtus in the matter of Thurstan, archbishop of York, had not taught the English people to look favourably on papal interference; and Henry, having recounted to Peter the traditional independence of this country and its Church from all foreign domination, caused him to be politely escorted out of England by the way he came. Soon after, Archbishop Ralph died; and was succeeded by a French priest *William de Corbeuil*, who imagined that there would be no harm in paying the same allegiance to the pope when an English archbishop, as he had done when in France. He was the first archbishop of Canterbury who acknowledged himself to be merely a deputy of the pope in this country. He had gained experience as clerk to the notorious justiciar, Ralph Flambard; and after his death it was found that he had misappropriated funds belonging to the see of Canterbury. When he went to Rome for his pall, he speedily came to an understanding with the pope respecting papal jurisdiction in England, and then suggested that the dispute for precedence between the sees of York and Canterbury should be decided at an English council, over which a papal legate should preside. Thurstan of York, in the hope of promoting the dignity of his see, agreed; and one *John de Crema* came to England for the purpose in 1125 as *legatus à latere*, or extraordinary legate. "His progress through England everywhere excited extreme indignation. You might see, indeed, a thing before unheard in the kingdom of England, a clerk forsooth, who had only reached the grade of priesthood, taking precedence of archbishops, bishops, abbots, and all the nobles of the land; sitting upon a lofty throne, while they, sitting beneath him, were waiting for his nod. On Easter-day, at first coming into England, he celebrated the office of the day in the mother church in the place of the chief pontiff, presiding on an elevated seat and using the pontifical insignia, although not a bishop, but simply a priest. The minds of many were gravely scandalized, for they saw in this both an unusual novelty and the destruction of the ancient liberties of the kingdom of England; for it is a thing most well known to the kingdom of England, and to all the regions lying round about, that from the days of Augustine, the first metropolitan of Canterbury, up to the time of that William, all the successors of Augustine who were monks had

been held primates and patriarchs, and had never been placed under the dominion of any Roman legate" (*Gervase of Canterbury*). King Henry would scarcely have permitted that great indignity to the English Church had he not been greatly concerned about a successor to the throne. His only son had been drowned at sea, and he required the good offices of the powerful Roman pontiff in favour of his daughter Matilda, who had been married to the emperor of Germany.

John de Crema then convened a council at Westminster which formulated regulations for the government of the Church of England ; but did not decide the vexed question of precedence between the archbishops, which the legate still further delayed by sending William and Thurstan to Rome. Archbishop Corbeuil found, all too late, how necessary were the numerous protestations of previous archbishops of Canterbury against the encroachments of Rome. He now recounted to the pope the arrogant conduct of John de Crema and the consequent anger of the English people ; and meekly protested that the establishment of a *legatus à latere* in England was an invasion of the rights of his see. Honorius II., the then pope, craftily suggested that the archbishop of Canterbury should become his ordinary (*natus*) legate, which would give him the desired precedence over the archbishops of York, and still enable the popes to send extraordinary legates to England when they deemed it expedient. William de Corbeuil accepted that humiliating compromise ; thus stripping the see of Canterbury of its traditional rights, and making the English Church dependent on the Church of Rome. The primatial see did not long enjoy the fruit of his obsequiousness, for a nephew of King Henry, named *Henry de Blois*, who was made bishop of Winchester in 1125, was made papal legate in the year 1137 by Pope Innocent II., thus giving a suffragan bishop precedence of his metropolitan. King Henry I. died in 1135, and was buried in Reading-abbey. By his death the Church and Realm of England lost a firm and wise governor, who, although a Norman, was careful to preserve so far as he could the laws and traditions of the English people, after the example of William the conqueror. Shortly before his death he founded the bishopric of Carlisle. He had previously established a monastery for Augustinian monks in the border city, making his chaplain *Aldulph* the first prior. When Aldulph had completed the building of his church, parts of which remain to this day, it was made the cathedral of the new diocese, with Aldulph as bishop ; thus relieving the too extensive see of Durham.

Henry's successor was not Matilda, as he had desired, but *Stephen of Blois*, son of Henry's sister Adela. Stephen's reign was a period of disorder and misrule. Archbishop William died in December 1136, and was succeeded by Theobald, abbot of Bec, in January 1139.



CARLISLE CATHEDRAL (*see previous page*).

4. Military religious orders.—In the latter part of the eleventh century the monastic spirit developed a fresh phase. We have seen that military ability was not wanting on the part of bishops or their clergy; and therefore, when the Crusades invited Christians to take up arms in defence of the Cross, large numbers of ecclesiastics responded to the call. They preferred to continue living after their accustomed rules, but as the rules had to be modified to suit altered conditions they formed themselves into new monastic bodies which are known as the *military religious orders*. There were several of those new orders, but only the *Knights Templar* and the *Knights of St. John* had any status in England. A word about the Crusades is necessary here. The Mohammedan Saracens, who subdued Palestine and conquered Jerusalem in the seventh century, allowed Christians

to make pilgrimages to the holy sepulchre ; but the Turks, by whom the Saracens were in turn subdued, treated pilgrims with great cruelty. A poor monk named *Peter the hermit* witnessed the sad condition of Christians in Palestine, and begged the pope to relieve it (A.D. 1095). The pope suggested that Peter should test the feeling of Europe by preaching about the Turkish cruelties, the result being that an extraordinary enthusiasm was aroused, which was still further intensified when Pope Urban himself advocated a holy war against the infidels, and promised pardon of sins to all who should engage therein, with an immediate entrance into heaven if their lives were lost in the cause. *William of Malmesbury*, a contemporary English historian, glowingly depicts the ardour with which the inhabitants of the British Isles joined in the crusade. He says :—"the Welshman left his hunting, the Scot his fellowship with vermin, the Dane his drinking-party, the Norwegian his raw fish. Lands were deserted of their husbandmen, houses of their inhabitants ; even whole cities migrated. There was no regard to relationship ; affection to their country was held in little esteem ; God alone was placed before their eyes. Whatever was stored in the granaries or hoarded in chambers, to answer the hopes of the avaricious husbandmen or the covetousness of the miser, all, all was deserted, they hungered and thirsted after Jerusalem alone." Millions of people, old and young, rich and poor, male and female, regardless of the length and hardness of the journey, joined in the enterprise, and after enduring much privation, suffering, disease and death, the motley hosts reached Jerusalem in June 1099. "*Dieu le veult*," "God wills it," was their rallying cry as they slew the Turks wherever they found them, alternating fearful deeds of cruelty and plunder with ecstatic devotion and penitential tears. When the holy city was taken they chose *Godfrey de Bouillon* as 'king of Jerusalem,' who, for the safe guarding of the city, and the entertainment of the numerous pilgrims who soon flocked thither in greater numbers than ever before, established the two orders of military monks we have mentioned. The business of the Templar knights was to defend the Saviour's tomb and guard Palestine, for which purpose they built numerous monasteries like immense castles throughout the holy land. They wore white tunics over their armour embroidered with black crosses. The knights of St. John Baptist, or knights hospitaller, besides fighting as need required were to tend the sick and wounded, and provide for the welfare of Christian travellers. They were

distinguished by a dark red surtout with a cross of white linen on the breast. It was a grand idea to combine the religious instincts of the cloister with an energetic vocation of a warrior. "The Christian calling is that of a soldier, and the exigencies of the times made it honourable to fight not only against spiritual but against human foes, . . . and so the nursing brother and the hospitable monk became an armed and fighting soldier." The chivalric romances of King Arthur, which were put into readable shape about that time, give an idea of the spirit which actuated many crusading knights. "Noble chivalry, courtesy, humanity, friendliness, hardiness, love, friendship, cowardice, murder, hate, virtue, and sin ;"¹—all those evils and graces were



A KNIGHT OF ST. JOHN.

mingled in strange contrast among the communities of fighting monks, although for a time the higher principles predominated.² Each order erected special monasteries in all European provinces, where fresh bands of men and youths might be trained for service in the east. The churches belonging to the Templar monasteries were usually built in a circular form, in imitation of the church of the holy sepulchre. Hence the origin of the famous Norman round-chancelled churches, like the Temple church in London and St. Sepulchre's at Cambridge. Our oldest hospitals are survivals of the establishments of the

¹ William Caxton.

² "The Crusades were probably the great means of inspiring an uniformity of conventional courtesy into the European aristocracy, which still constitutes the common character of gentlemen."—Hallam.

order of St. John. There were several other Crusades during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, to meet fresh invasions of the Turks ; who were at last victorious. The holy land has been lost to Christians ever since. The Templar knights were soon after disbanded, and their possessions transferred to the knights of St. John. The Crusades had an important indirect bearing upon the welfare of the Church of England. The nobles often pledged or sold their estates to the monasteries to provide the means for their expeditions ; many left their wives and families in the care of monastic institutions. If they returned safely from the wars they made suitable thank-offerings to the Church, or built, or rebuilt, or restored local sanctuaries. The many monuments of cross-legged knights in our churches indicate the extent of that beneficence. On the other hand, the Crusades vastly increased the power and influence of the popes ; for they brought several European nations into close relationship. The city of Rome was the great collecting and distributing centre, all men respected the office of its bishop, and many princes left their dominions under the care of the papacy, thus vastly increasing its temporal authority. When each Crusade was over many of the enthusiasts remained under arms as a kind of standing army of the Roman pontiff, by which the papacy was able to exercise authority over monarchs at will.



ST. SEPULCHRE'S, CAMBRIDGE.

5. New monastic orders.—In the latter part of the eleventh century several new societies of regular monks were founded, and re-

ceived special sanction from the popes to settle and preach wherever they pleased. Chief among them were the *Cistercian* and *Carthusian* orders. Nine Carthusian houses were erected in this country. The first was at Witham in Somerset in the year 1181, but the chief of them was on the site of the great Charterhouse school, which flourished for so many generations in Goswell street, London. Their rule was more strict than the earlier orders; they were not allowed even to speak except on Sundays and festivals, nor make any signs to each other; and whereas the Benedictines and Cluniacs usually dwelt near a town, the Carthusians chose the most desert and inhospitable regions for their abode, where they continued to lead lives of self-denial and mortification in imitation of their founder *Bruno*, who chose an abiding place among wild and rugged rocks near Grenoble, known as the Great Chartreuse, whence their name. They too built many magnificent abbey churches and monasteries, but never relaxed their hard fare. Meat they never tasted. They had to wear rough goat skins next their flesh, and submit to be flogged once a week. The Cistercian order is so called because its chief monastery was at *Cîteaux*, which in Latin is *Cistercium*. They also had very strict rules, and during the winter were only allowed to eat one meal a day.

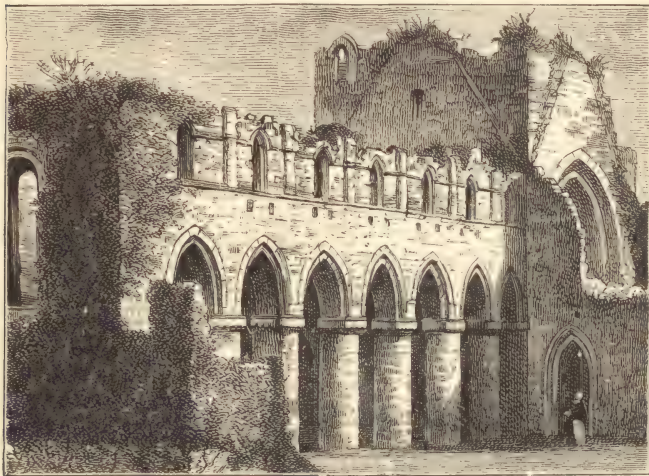
All parade in dress, or elaboration of services was to be avoided. *Robert de Molême* is credited with being the founder of the order, but it does not appear to have been very popular until the great *St. Bernard* joined it in 1113. The Cistercians, or *white monks* as they were called on account of their dress, set up their first English house at Waverley, in Surrey, A.D. 1129; *Tintern on the Wye* (page 193), and Kirkstall, near Leeds, following soon after. Members of the order found a home in the Benedictine abbey of St. Mary, at York, where they promoted disagreements and were expelled; they then established Fountains-abbey, near Ripon. Before the close of the twelfth century the Cistercians had established a large number of important monasteries throughout England and Wales. When those new monastic institutions were first planted in England, the members were devout and earnest men,



CISTERCIAN MONK.

who subsisted solely upon charity. But as they grew in numbers they increased in wealth, and "none were more greedy in adding farm to farm, none less scrupulous in obtaining grants of land from wealthy patrons," than the Cistercians; many of whom were appointed by Norman barons to govern existing monasteries on their estates according to the new rules, as was the case at Furness, in Lancashire; until the order became very wealthy and influential. As their possessions increased their humility and self-denial gradually vanished. An appropriate instance of the rapid growth of monastic property, and the not less rapid change in their manner of life is found in a colloquy related to have taken place between King Richard I. and a Frenchman named Fulke, just before the lion-hearted king left England for the Crusades in 1189. "You have three daughters," said Fulke, "pride, luxury, and avarice; and, as long as they remain with you, you cannot expect favour from God." Richard replied:—"I have already given away those daughters in marriage—pride, to the Templars; luxury, to the black monks; and avarice, to the white." Yet we must not suppose that these religious communities entered at once into the enjoyment of fertile estates; because England was then in many parts a wild, dreary waste, of scarcely more than prairie value. When they settled in a fresh district they would beg some desolate plot of land and at once reclaim and cultivate it, living under circumstances of great privation until they could gather a little store of provision. Soon their settlements would wear a lively appearance; the forests would be cleared, the marshes drained, the moorland converted into rich pastures and the estates stocked with good cattle. The lands thus reclaimed were easily let out to tenants, and so the communities became landlords. But instead of spending their revenues in pageantry and personal adornment, they lived frugally, and built grand abbeys and cloistered habitations; exercising at the same time unstinting hospitality to travellers and strangers, besides providing for the necessities of the poor, and educating the people. As centres of religious influence they in time received boundless support from the piously disposed English men and women, but their prosperity became a cause of weakness to the episcopate and to the parochial system. Nobles who possessed the right of patronage or presentation of clergy to benefices, which themselves or their ancestors had founded, gave them to the monasteries on condition that they provided for the official duties thereof, which condition was usually fulfilled by deputy; that

is to say, the monks, who were mostly laymen, employed poor *secular* priests to perform *vicariously* the spiritual duties of such parochial churches as had been *appropriated* to their particular convent. Hence, we have the word *vicar*, by which we understand a parochial clergyman who does not directly receive the full revenues of his benefice. But the action of the papacy in making the new monastic orders independent of episcopal jurisdiction, and dependent only upon the Roman see, weakened the influence of the English bishops and caused the parish priests to be meanly thought of by the inhabitants, which the secular clergy not unnaturally resented. It was a notable addition to the manifold ways in which popes increased their influence in England.



BUILDWAS-ABBEY (CISTERCIAN).

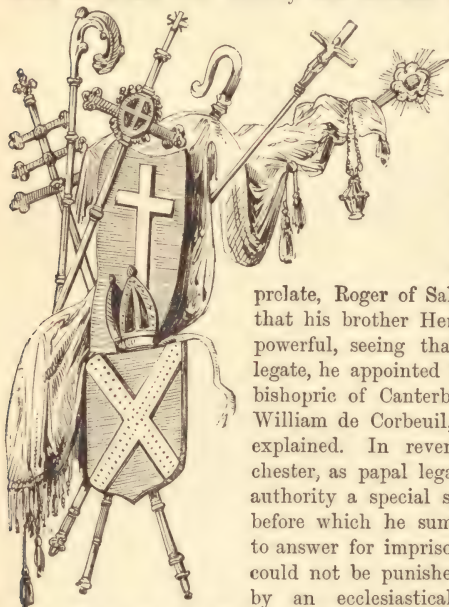
6. Stephen's misrule—Battle of the Standard.—We must briefly return to the civil history of the country during the reign of Stephen of Blois. The bishops had promised Henry I. that they would support the cause of his daughter Matilda, but Stephen was the nearest male heir of Norman blood; with the exception of Henry, bishop of Winchester, whose monastic vows precluded him from regal dignity. There seems to have been a conspiracy between these brothers for Stephen to be king, and Henry to be primate as soon as Corbeuil

died, that they might divide the government of England between themselves. The citizens of London declared for Stephen ; and, under pressure from Henry of Winchester, the bishops of Salisbury and Lincoln—then the most influential prelates in the country, Roger of Salisbury having been favourite minister, and Alexander of Lincoln a nephew of Henry I.—induced the other bishops to uphold London's choice, the archbishop of Canterbury, obsequious as ever, performing the ceremony of consecration. Matilda thereupon gave way, and Stephen at once plunged into a course of reckless extravagance ; his favourite nobles building for themselves more than a thousand castles, from which they might sally forth to pillage and plunder the inhabitants. In self-defence the prelates and nobles who retired from the government on Stephen's accession built other fortresses, and private feuds raged unchecked. Soon the citizens of London repented of their choice, and accepted Matilda as their lady. She behaved to them no better than the king, and then they took up arms against her in favour of Stephen. The king of Scotland allied himself to Matilda and invaded England with an army in support of her cause. His forces committed dreadful depredations in the north, and the country became a chaos of misrule. "One gleam of national glory broke the darkness of the time." The now aged archbishop, Thurstan of York, roused the northern barons to defend their homesteads. He unfurled the banners of the three great northern leaders : Cuthbert, John of Beverley, and Wilfrid of Ripon ; and although too infirm himself to lead them in battle he sent the bishop of Durham before them to Northallerton, where they awaited the onslaught of the northern foe.

"Still do our very children boast
Of mitred Thurstan, what a host
He conquered !—Saw we not the plain,
(And flying shall behold again)
Where faith was proved ?—while to battle moved
The standard on the sacred wain
That bore it, compassed round by a bold
Fraternity of barons old."

On a wagon they raised a ship-mast, on which they fixed a processional staff that contained, in a small silver box, some consecrated elements of the eucharist. To that mast they also nailed the banners mentioned, and that trophy became to the English instead of a national flag, and was in fact called their standard. As they marched the wagon went before them, and the stentorian voice of the bishop of

Durham encouraged them to fight for freedom, homes, and Christ. "The fierce hordes dashed in vain against the close English ranks around the standard, and the whole army (of the Scots) fled in confusion to Carlisle." And thus the greatest attempt ever made by the Scots to invade our country was arrested by devout patriotism.



BANNER AND STAVES.

Stephen, becoming alarmed at the increasing power of the barons and prelates who built castles, caused many of them to be imprisoned, including his near relatives, the bishops of Lincoln and Ely, and the powerful statesman

prelate, Roger of Salisbury. Also, fearing that his brother Henry might become too powerful, seeing that he was now papal legate, he appointed Theobald to the archbishopric of Canterbury, in the room of William de Corbeuil, as we have already explained. In revenge, Henry of Winchester, as papal legate, called by his own authority a special synod of the Church; before which he summoned King Stephen to answer for imprisoning the bishops, who could not be punished, he claimed, except by an ecclesiastical tribunal. Stephen admitted his brother's jurisdiction, and submitted to the penance he imposed. Thus papal supremacy was still further developed in England. "Henry of Winchester, however, 'half monk, half soldier,' as he was called, possessed too little religious influence to wield a really spiritual power; it was only at the close of Stephen's reign that the nation really found a moral leader in *Theobald*, the archbishop of Canterbury. 'To the Church,' Thomas Becket justly said afterwards, with the proud consciousness of having been Theobald's right hand, 'Henry (who succeeded Stephen 1154) owed his crown and England her deliverance'" (Green's *Short History*).

CHAPTER XII. (A.D. 1154–1175)

THOMAS BECKET

“As with the stream our voyage we pursue,
The gross materials of this world present
A marvellous study of wild accident ;

Saw we not Henry scourged at Becket's shrine ?”

1. Henry II.—The new king, Henry II., was the son of Matilda by her marriage with Geoffrey Plantagenet. By his birth he inherited Normandy and Anjou, by his marriage with Eleanor of Poitou he became master of Aquitaine, and now, through the arrangement between his mother and Stephen, was also king of England. He was crowned at Westminster in December 1154, by Theobald, archbishop of Canterbury. The year of his accession is memorable for another reason. Nicholas Breakspear, an Englishman who had been bishop of Alba, was made pope of Rome, under the title of Adrian IV. This is the only instance of an Englishman obtaining that position, and he manifested good feeling towards this country and its king. Henry was an able ruler ; he speedily compelled the barons who had built themselves castles in the days of Stephen to dismantle their fortresses and become peaceable subjects, and by that means he became popular with most of his people. He followed up the advantage by wise judicial reforms which made all men equal before the law. Fixed courts, regular judges, and evidence on oath, helped still further to restrict the authority of the nobles, and the old feudal system gradually gave way to a national one. The king's continental dominions did not interfere with this, because he discouraged the French from becoming landowners in England, and even drove out of this country many of the foreigners who had possessed themselves of estates in his predecessor's time. The archbishop of Canterbury, as the chief person in the realm next the king, was his chief adviser ; and through Theobald Henry was made acquainted with a number of earnest men who helped him to rule the English wisely. Chief of them was *Thomas Becket*, who had been the archbishop's confidential secretary for some time, and was archdeacon of Canterbury at the time of Henry's accession.

2. Thomas Becket.—In those days civil offices were only given to persons who could speak French, and as Becket when a lad showed himself to be possessed of high intellectual talents, his father, a wealthy London merchant, sent him to Paris, so that he might become accomplished in all the learning and arts of his time. It was also necessary to success in life for a man to be either a knight or a cleric. Thomas preferred the Church, although at times he did not disdain the battlefield. His admission into the service of the archbishop of Canterbury brought him in contact with important men of that time. His fascinating manners gained him the affection of a large circle of admirers, and the rest were made to fear his vigorous mental powers. Everything he was set to perform he successfully accomplished, and as a reward for his many services he received a number of valuable church preferments. Archbishop Theobald did not appreciate his own position as a subordinate to Henry de Blois of Winchester, and Thomas Becket was commissioned to Rome to obtain from the pope a transference of legatine powers to the see of Canterbury in perpetuity, which



HENRY II.

he did. It was through the diplomacy of the same young man that the pope was induced to support the claims of Henry to be king of England, so that Henry at once promoted him to the position of chancellor, which, though not then by any means the highest post in the king's council, was soon made to be so by Becket's remarkable powers of administration. The king was fond of social pleasures, and so was Becket; they treated each other with fraternal familiarity, and were constant companions in peace and war. If an army was to be raised, Becket's numerous

benefices enabled him to put a larger number of knights and mercenaries in the field than any other noble, and he himself

led them to victory in battle. He also superintended the education of the king's son, and many other noble youths, and was foremost in promoting the judicial reforms which alleviated the oppressed condition of his countrymen. In short, he was the most popular man in the kingdom, beloved by the poor for his benevolence, and by the rich for his ability. He dressed as a layman, and took part in all secular amusements and social pursuits, exercising an unbounded hospitality, living in a style of magnificence which few kings of the time could rival. If he went on an embassy for the king he took with him so vast a retinue and made so brave a display that people said :—"What must the king be whose chancellor is so rich?" Yet, withal, he is said to have been not unacquainted with the hair-shirt and the scourge, as a penitential antidote to his luxurious life. In 1162 Archbishop Theobald died, and the king desired that Becket should succeed him, although the latter was only in deacon's orders.

3. Becket becomes archbishop.—Henry and Becket were both in Normandy when the vacancy occurred, and the chancellor pointed out to the king how unsuitable his past life and present secular attire were to recommend him for such a position in the eyes of the monks and clergy whom he would have to rule. "Besides," he protested to one of his friends, "I know the very heart of the king; he would desire authority in Church affairs to which, as archbishop, I could not consent. I should either have to lose the king's favour, or that of God." The bishops objected to a deacon being suddenly set over them, but the king's mind was made up, and on the eve of Whit-Sunday, 1162, Thomas was admitted to priest's orders, and eight days after consecrated archbishop of Canterbury by Henry de Blois of Winchester, thirteen bishops of the province assisting in the ceremony. And now the life of Becket was completely transformed; the once luxurious chancellor became an austere Benedictine monk, eating the coarsest food and drinking decoctions of bitter herbs. To the king's dismay he resigned the chancellorship and proceeded to adopt an independent attitude as ruler of the English Church, bestowing on objects of charity the immense revenues he had once lavished in social entertainments. For awhile the king patiently bore the disappointment of losing his friend and chancellor. There were not wanting courtiers to misrepresent the primate's actions; but the king did not at once provoke open hostilities, and was outwardly friendly with Becket for a year. Both

attended a council of Pope Alexander III. at Tours, and then a storm began to brew. Thomas Becket proposed that the council should add the name of Anselm of Canterbury to the calendar of saints, and the prevailing tone of the whole assembly was adverse to any exercise of secular authority ; so that when they returned to England, Henry knew that he would have to make a firm stand for the supremacy of the crown, while Becket, on the other hand, determined to maintain the power of the Church and concede nothing to the king. The archbishop claimed certain temporal rights and possessions that had been withheld from his see, and the king retorted by demanding Becket's resignation of certain benefices which he had continued to hold. Further the archbishop set the laws of William the conqueror at defiance by excommunicating the Baron of Eynesford (a tenant-in-chief of the crown, who had refused to allow a man whom Becket had nominated to be admitted to a living of which the baron was patron), without previously acquainting the king with his intentions. But the first open hostilities occurred at the national council of Woodstock in July 1163, when the king desired to have the *Danegeld* (see page 129), which had been hitherto collected by local sheriffs, enrolled as royal revenue. Becket resisted the claim, and the king swore "by the eyes of God" that he would have his way. Becket retorted in a similar oath that not a penny should thus be paid from the lands of the Church. There was henceforward a public quarrel between them.

4. Restriction of Church privileges.—The question which brought their ill-feeling to a crisis was the right of the clergy to be tried before civil courts for criminal charges. The king demanded that when clerics were accused of civil offences they should be tried and punished by the royal courts ; but Becket looked upon this as an infringement of the liberties of the Church, and desired to uphold the arrangement of William the conqueror, who separated the civil and ecclesiastical courts. A great council was held at Westminster, in October 1163, to determine the matter. The Church stood to the realm in much the same position as the Jews did to the Romans in New Testament times ; it had a law, but could not put a man to death. The ecclesiastical courts only degraded a man from his office and benefice, which the king and barons considered an inadequate punishment for gross crimes. The Church advocates said that it was unfair to try a man twice over for the same offence, in the Church

courts and afterwards in the secular courts ; but as the immunity of the clergy from punishment for heinous offences often amounted to licence, Henry was firm in his demand that they should now be put upon an equal footing with other estates of the realm by being handed over to the secular authorities after degradation by the Church. That was agreed to by the bishops, but Henry still further pressed his claim for national justice by stipulating that a crown officer should be present in the Church courts to see that no criminous cleric was allowed to escape punishment. Becket protested that this restricted the



TINTERN ABBEY, CISTERCIAN (see page 184).

liberty of the Church, and by his earnest advocacy brought the bishops over to his side. At last the king asked "Whether the bishops were willing to observe the customs of the country?" After deliberation, they vaguely replied :—"That they were willing to observe the known customs, *without prejudice to their order.*" The king demanded a withdrawal of the qualifying phrase ; and as they would not consent, he angrily left the meeting, and Becket wrote to Rome for advice. The king also sent an embassy to the pope, and, as at other times, the papal court encouraged the prelate to fight against the king, but advised a conciliatory policy rather than provoke a quarrel between

the papacy and the English court. Another important forfeiture of Church privilege occurred about that time. The principle of the law of refuge (Joshua xx.) had been transferred to the Christian Church at a very early period of its history, under the name of "*right of sanctuary*," and adopted by the Anglo-Saxon races. Fugitives who had unwittingly committed offences fled to the churches, and if they could but reach the door of a religious house and knock thereat they were free from capital punishment, and even goods that had been forfeited by the misdemeanours of their owners were held sacred if they could be placed in care of the Church. That privilege was often abused, and in the days of King Stephen, when holy places were no longer held in reverence, offenders were dragged even from the foot of the altar. The privilege of sanctuary respecting confiscated property was repealed in 1164.



FUGITIVE CLAIMING SANCTUARY.

5. Constitutions of Clarendon, 1164.—When the messengers returned from Rome the king summoned the prelates to meet in council at *Clarendon*, near Salisbury, to decide upon the laws which Henry proposed to substitute for existing customs. There were sixteen articles, and their general tenour was to restrain the authority of the Church and make the clergy amenable to the civil courts. The following were some of the provisions :—

Rule 3.—Clergy charged with crimes to be tried in the civil courts, and a king's justice be present in Church courts.

Rule 4.—No prelate to quit the kingdom without the king's permission, or do evil and mischief to the realm when abroad.

Rule 11.—Prelates, as barons, to be subject to feudal burdens.

Rule 12.—The king to hold all vacant benefices, and to receive their revenues till the vacancies were filled.

Rule 14.—Forfeited goods not to be protected by sanctuary.

Becket refused to affix his official seal to those Constitutions, and the other bishops stood by him in his decision. The council broke up in confusion. Becket went to his lodging, but the other bishops were confined together in one room for three days; after which the most influential barons announced that they had determined to support

the king, and Becket was implored to give way. The council was hastily called together again, and Becket said :—"It is God's will that I should perjure myself. For the present I submit and incur perjury, to repent of it hereafter as best I may." Still he refused to sign the document, and asked permission to carry home a copy for consideration. But so far from signing it he immediately imposed a penance on himself for having temporarily yielded, and determined to stand alone against the king and barons and prelates in opposing the new laws.



6. The council of Northampton.—When Henry saw there was no chance of moving the archbishop, he commenced to set the secular courts in motion against him. At a council held at Northampton in 1165, Becket was charged with perjury, contempt of the crown, and misappropriation of funds during his chancellorship, and condemned to forfeit all his estates and possessions to the king. On the recommendation of Henry de Blois, Becket offered 2000 marks as indemnity, which the king refused; other friends advised him to resign the archbishopric, but that he declined to do.

At a subsequent session of the council, from which the bishops had withdrawn, the archbishop was impeached for high treason, and when he heard this he went in full pontificals to the council and dis-

COSTUME OF A BISHOP (12TH CENTURY). claimed the right of lay peers to judge him. But they declared him guilty of treason, and the earl of Leicester, as chief justice, called upon him to listen

to his sentence. "My sentence! son earl," exclaimed the archbishop, "nay, hear me first. The king promoted me against my will to be archbishop of Canterbury. I was then declared free from all secular obligations. Ye are my children and may not sit in judgment on your spiritual father. As the soul is worth more than the body so should you obey God and me rather than an earthly king. Therefore, I

decline to receive judgment from the king or you, or any other temporal peer, and will be judged, under God, by the pope alone. I place my church and person under his protection, and so I quit this court."

Carrying his cross before him he left the council-chamber with dignity amid a storm of insults and cries of "traitor!" which he said he would have resented with his sword had he been a knight. He then fled for sanctuary to St. Andrew's church, and under cover of the night rode away to Lincoln, and thence by night rode to Canterbury, from whence, in the disguise of a Cistercian monk, he escaped to St. Omer in France, which was beyond Henry's dominions. There he recruited his strength, and resumed somewhat of his former magnificence.



NORMAN DOOR, CANTERBURY CATHEDRAL.

7. Becket's appeal to the pope.¹—When Henry heard of Becket's flight he sent to the king of France desiring that "the traitor" should not be allowed refuge in that kingdom. He also sent a numerous embassy of bishops and barons to Pope Alexander at Sens requesting him to send Becket back to England, and appoint a special legate to investigate the charges. They had not long arrived when Becket, escorted by 300 knights, also reached the papal court to lay before Alexander his copy of the "Constitutions of Clarendon." When the pope saw these he said that they were not "customs" but "tyrannical usurpations," and censured Becket and the bishops for having promised to observe them even with the qualifying provision of *Salva ecclesie dignitate*. The pope seemed disposed to take Becket's part but dared not offend the king. Becket then played his master-stroke. The only way to escape from personal danger was to increase papal authority in England. Plucking the archiepiscopal ring from his finger he handed it to the pope and declared himself unable any longer to bear the burden of his office. Next day the pope returned the ring to Becket, who was thus able afterwards to say that he held the primacy from the pope and not from the king. After that Becket retired to Sens, where he remained, surrounded by a band of devoted friends, for some years. It was unavailing for Henry and the barons to banish Becket and several hundreds of his followers, for the spiritual weapon of excommunication by which the Church absolved subjects from their allegiance to their sovereign was too potent to be despised. Fortunately for Henry there were rival popes at the time, and although England had recognized Alexander, Henry now swore fidelity to the other pope, whose name was Paschal, and repudiated any allegiance to Alexander, so that a threatened excommunication from one pope was set off by a counter excommunication by the other pope. Ultimately Alexander was received in Rome as the rightful pope, and he gave to Becket legatine commission over the province of Canterbury. Thus fortified, Becket publicly annulled the "Constitutions of Clarendon," excommunicated many of the authors of that document, and threatened the king with similar punishment. That spread consternation throughout England, which King Henry allayed by once more acknowledging Alexander as pope, and allowing papal legates to make inquiries into the respective merits of his cause and that of the refractory archbishop.

¹ See *Great English Churchmen*. S.P.C.K. Home Library. 3s. 6d.

8. The French king's mediation.—The legates opened negotiations between the principals in the struggle, and three characteristic meetings took place between Henry II. and Archbishop Becket through the mediation of Louis, king of France, who had taken the primate's part all through. The first interview was at Montmirail, near Chartres, in 1169. The archbishop was then willing to alter the famous qualifying phrase to "saving the honour of God." "But," said Henry to the king of France, "whatever his lordship of Canterbury disapproves he will say is contrary to God's honour, and so he will on all occasions get the advantage of me, but that I may not be thought to despise God's honour, I will put before him this proposition:—Let him agree to behave towards me as the holiest of his predecessors behaved towards the weakest of mine, and I will be satisfied." All present considered that a fair proposal. But Becket was inflexible, and referred to the double exile to which Anselm had submitted rather than yield to royal demands. Nothing came of the meeting, and the legates in vain tried to conciliate the rivals. Both clung to the positions they had taken up. "Saving the dignity of my crown," was Henry's reservation, without which he would accept no agreement. Those phrases became in time subjects of common jest. A second meeting was at Montmartre, near Paris, later in the same year. The king offered to submit the question at issue to arbitration, but Becket said he preferred an amicable settlement. "The archbishop said nothing about reservations, and the king was silent as to constitution. Everything seemed to be arranged, when Becket claimed from the king 'the kiss of peace,' as a guarantee of the royal sincerity." Henry excused himself, and Becket refused to continue negotiations. Once more each side was at open enmity. The archbishop excommunicated right and left, while the king banished the prelate's partisans with no less vigour. As Henry's continental possessions frequently took him out of England he desired that his son Prince Henry should share in the government by being crowned regent of England; and he ordered the archbishop of York to perform the ceremony of coronation, which was a breach of the prerogatives of the see of Canterbury. Meanwhile the legates were busy with fresh negotiations, and a third meeting took place at Fretteville, in the summer of 1170. Both parties were now heartily tired of the struggle, and were willing to make concessions. All reference to offensive topics was avoided. Although the kiss of peace was not

exchanged the meeting between king and prelate was very cordial. They met on horseback out of doors, and rode together privately for some time, the archbishop expressing his willingness to return to England if he were allowed to inflict ecclesiastical censure on those who had infringed his rights by crowning Prince Henry. The king agreed, and, in gratitude for the concession, the primate dismounted and threw himself at Henry's feet. Not to be outdone in courtesy, Henry held Becket's stirrup for him to remount, and after this reconciliation Becket prepared to return to his long neglected flock. But he was not sure that the king would deal truly by him. As he bade the bishop of Paris farewell, he said :—"I go to England to die." To Henry he said :—"My mind tells me we shall never meet again in this life." It need not have been so had the archbishop desired peace.

9. The murder of Becket.—He had sent before him an unsuspected messenger with letters from the pope suspending the prelates of York, Durham, London, Salisbury, Exeter, Chester, Rochester, Llandaff, and St. Asaph; three of them, the bishops of Rochester, London, and Salisbury, old enemies of Becket, being also excommunicated. They complained to the king. "What can I do?" said he. "That your barons must advise," they answered, "but as long as the archbishop lives you will not have a peaceful realm or a quiet life;" at which the king cried, "A curse on all the varlets I have nourished ;

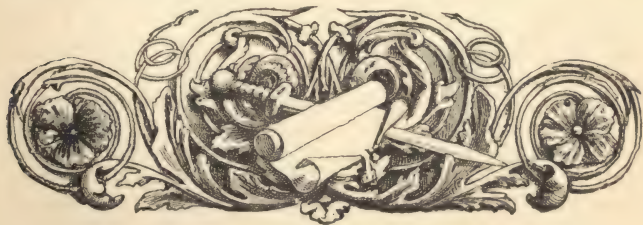


TRANSEPT OF THE MARTYRDOM.

will no one rid me from the insolence of this turbulent priest?" Four knights who stood by the king and heard his rash words seized the opportunity of gaining favour with Henry II. by plotting the murder of Becket. Their names were Richard le Breton, Reginald Fitz-Urse, William de Tracy, and Hugh de Moreville. The story of Becket's death has been told so often and at such great length that a brief account is sufficient here. The knights forced their way into the primate's palace at Canterbury and held a stormy colloquy with him. As he defied them to do their worst they rushed out for weapons, and Becket's friends begged him to take sanctuary in the cathedral; but before he could reach the high altar the knights overtook him in the transept chapel of St. Benedict, for he would not allow the monks to bar the cloister doors. From the steps of the shrine he asked the knights what they required, and they replied "Your death." Becket said he was ready to die in the name of the Lord, but forbade them to touch his people. They tried to drag him out of the cathedral, but he shook them off. Fitz-Urse, stung by an opprobrious epithet Becket applied to him, struck at the primate's head with a sword; but the blow only knocked off his mitre. Bowing his head with the words "I commend my soul to God, St. Denis, and the saints of the Church," he received another furious blow from De Tracy's weapon, which nearly severed the arm of a monk who tried to avert it, and shaved off the archbishop's scalp. Wiping the blood from his face Becket said:—"Lord into Thy hands I commend my spirit." Fitz-Urse and Tracy each dealt another blow which brought poor Thomas to his knees. "In defence of the Church I am willing to die," he articulated; upon which Le Breton aimed so violent a stroke that the archbishop's skull was cloven in two and the weapon broken by contact with the marble steps. Hugh de Moreville took no part in the actual murder, but guarded the doors against any attempt at rescue. As soon as their horrible task was completed they hurried away, and the monks laid Becket's body in state on the high altar, burying it the following day in the crypt of his cathedral.

10. Consequences of Becket's murder.—This brutal crime sent a thrill of horror throughout the Christian world. Henry regretted it most of all. He felt that his rash words had authorized the deed, although he disavowed the horrible intention. He placed himself in the pope's hands, and submitted to such penance as that pontiff imposed. Becket was at once canonized as a martyr. All

sorts of miracles were superstitiously attributed to the relics of the murdered primate, and for centuries his shrine was the most venerated in England. As an instance of the undue proportion of respect paid to his memory it has been stated that in one year nearly 1000 marks were offered at his shrine by devotees who made pilgrimages to Canterbury, while to the altar of the Virgin in the same cathedral only 64 marks were offered during the same period, and to the high altar of Christ *nothing*. When Henry returned to England in 1174 "he rode from Southampton to Canterbury without resting, dismounted at the gate of the city, walked barefoot through the streets to the cathedral, and prostrated himself on the ground before the tomb. In the chapter-house he caused each of the monks to strike him with the discipline, and afterwards he spent the whole night in the church beside the tomb. The murderers were avoided by every one, and were sent to Rome to put themselves at the pope's disposal. He ordered them to go on pilgrimage to the holy land. A doubtful legend says that one died on the road, the others died within three years, and were buried before the door of the church of the holy sepulchre" (*Cutts*). The chief consequences of Becket's death were seen in King Henry's surrender of much for which he had been striving, and the ultimate submission of England's civil power to papal suzerainty, as the next chapter will show. On the other hand Henry II. was able to secure the greater part of the "Constitutions of Clarendon," which were of service to the nation afterwards. There was nothing very saintly in the character of Becket; but the sanctity of the place where he was killed, and the sacred office held by the victim, invested his death with a glamour of sacrilege, and caused him to become more powerful in death than he had been in life.



CHAPTER XIII. (A.D. 1175–1228)

THE GREAT CHARTER

“Lo ! John self-stripped of his insignia ;—crown,
Sceptre and mantle, sword and ring, laid down
At a proud legate’s feet ! The spears that line
Baronial halls, the opprobrious insult feel ;
And angry ocean roars a vain appeal.”

1. The election of bishops.—Becket’s place in the see of Canterbury was successively occupied by *Richard*, *Baldwin*, *Reginald Fitz-Jocelin*, and *Hubert Walter*, but their primacies were not very remarkable. In Richard’s time Canterbury cathedral was burnt down and rebuilt. Both Richard and Baldwin attempted to obtain greater control over the abbeys which were exempt by papal authority from episcopal supervision, but their efforts came to nothing. Baldwin and Walter were crusaders. The only important ecclesiastical events belonging to their terms of office were the disagreements about their election. Before the Norman conquest the clergy of each diocese had the privilege of choosing or electing their bishops. In the case of an archbishop for Canterbury the monks and canons of that cathedral usually elected the primate, the king, owing to the importance of the appointment, exercising considerable influence over their choice. With the Norman conquest the custom arose of bishops being nominated by the king, and so the freedom of election was, to some extent, lost ; but the monks of Christ church, Canterbury, were always scheming to regain that privilege. After Becket’s murder the *suffragan bishops of the province* of Canterbury claimed the right to a voice in the election of their chief, but this claim the Canterbury monks opposed, and obtained papal mandates in their favour. The monks admitted the king’s right to send a *congé d’élire*, or leave to elect, and were willing to submit their choice for his approbation, but objected to any further restrictions ; and successive kings confirmed by their charters this nominal freedom of election. In the case of an archbishop the popes now claimed the right to have the election submitted to them for approval, but in the case of suffragan bishops that proviso was not demanded. The monks of Canterbury in the time of Henry II., and during some reigns afterwards, were able to retain their old privileges ; because the preaching of a new crusade, in which Henry’s son *Richard, Cœur de Lion*, was soon to take a foremost part, absorbed the world’s attention.

2. Hugh of Lincoln.—With many of the bishops often absent from England, and the revenues of vacant sees confiscated to defray the cost of the king's numerous wars in France and Ireland, the English Church suffered morally and financially. Only the monks seemed to prosper, and they were often elevated to the episcopacy to the exclusion of the secular canons. One of the monks so elevated was *Hugh* of Avalon. He had been an inmate of St. Bernard's monastery in *La Grande Chartreuse*, and was invited hither by Henry to be prior of the Carthusian monastery at Witham, in Somersetshire, founded by the king as part of his penance for the death of Becket. In 1186 Hugh was promoted to the bishopric of Lincoln (then including all the country between the Humber and the Thames, except the eastern counties), after the seat had been vacant for seventeen years; during which time there had been no supervision of the clergy, no ordinations or confirmations, and no churches built, those that were existing being allowed to fall into ruins. By great administrative ability Hugh was able to thoroughly re-organize the diocese and leave it a model see, with the prospect of a glorious cathedral. He was a stern disciplinarian, and hated all unnecessary pomp or circumstance. Eloquent, humorous, self-denying, a hater of superstition, and a friend of the poor, he became a splendid example to the other prelates, who indeed needed such; for they had been promoted mainly on account of their secular services to the king rather than for their spiritual



RICHARD I.

qualities. No one could influence Henry II. so powerfully as the fearless Hugh of Lincoln. Not even to the king would he abate one jot of his love for right and justice, for once when Henry wanted to prefer a courtier to a prebendal stall in Lincoln cathedral, the bishop replied:—"O king, the benefices of the Church are for ecclesiastics, not for those who serve the palace;" and at another time, when the king asked why he had excommunicated a forester without the royal permission, the bishop gave answer:—"Truly, I did not think it necessary to communicate

such small matters to thee, for, as they were right, I was sure you would immediately approve." This frank and dauntless manner, and faith in the king's sense of right, made him Henry's firmest friend; and when Richard I. succeeded his father on the English throne, no man could stand so fearlessly and conscientiously before him as Hugh. The bishop resisted all encroachments upon the privilege of sanctuary, and was not unused to defending his convictions against the received opinions of his day. For instance, he declared that chastity was not incompatible with a marriageable priesthood, at a time when most men considered celibacy among the clergy indispensable to their morality. Again, when men brought to him relics of the saints, or showed him some pretended evidence of their miraculous power, he would indignantly bid them begone with the signs of their unbelief. Perhaps the most remarkable scene that ever took place between a king and a bishop was when Hugh braved the lion-hearted king at Rouen, in 1195. Richard had sent to England a demand for more money for the support of his war with France from the barons and bishops and clergy, but Hugh of Lincoln, on behalf of the clergy, said:—"Our homage to the king does not include military service for foreign wars." Richard then ordered the bishop's goods to be confiscated, but none of the king's officers ventured to carry out his mandate for fear of episcopal anathemas. To save them from Richard's wrath, Hugh resolved to pay a visit to that impetuous monarch in Normandy. On approaching Rouen some nobles met him and begged that for the sake of his personal safety, he would not approach the angry king; but he took no notice of them. Richard was attending a celebration of the Holy Communion when Hugh reached the court, and had the bishop faltered his fate would have been sealed. But he boldly advanced to the king and claimed the kiss of peace, which was then a customary part of the Eucharist service. Richard looked another way; the service was suspended, and all the nobles watched the singular mental struggle. "Kiss me, my lord," said Hugh again, "for I have come from far to see thee." "You have not deserved it," replied Richard. "Nay, but I have," and he laid hold of the royal robe. The king now turned towards the prelate, but there were no signs of flinching on the part of Hugh when their eyes met, so the lion-heart was vanquished, and the kiss was granted. Afterwards Richard said:—"If all bishops were like Hugh, no prince would venture to withstand them." His remarkable courage has gained for him the

pseudonym of *Regum Malleus*, "the hammer of kings." Hugh died in the year 1200, and some idea of the respect he commanded by his sanctity may be gathered from the fact that two kings, three archbishops, fourteen bishops, a hundred abbots, and a long train of nobility attended his funeral. Twenty years after he was canonized, and his name is found in the calendar of our Prayer-book against November 17. His remains were deposited in a superb silver shrine within the choir of his cathedral, which is 'the earliest dated example in England of the pure lancet 'Gothic,' or 'Early English' architecture."



LINCOLN CATHEDRAL.

3. Pope Innocent III.—King Richard had been killed the year before Hugh died, and was succeeded by his brother John, of whom historians, especially church historians, are compelled to record unpalatable truths. He was unfortunate in his battles and lost all

his father's dominions in France north of the Loire. Those reverses were adjusted by plundering his English subjects and exacting heavy taxes from them. The occupant of the papal throne at that time was Innocent III., the most remarkable and powerful pontiff who ever attained that position. He was raised to the popedom in 1198, and at once claimed temporal as well as spiritual jurisdiction over all the world. He had exercised some authority over Richard I., but nothing compared with that which he obtained over King John. It came about in this way : Hubert Walter, archbishop of Canterbury, died in 1205, and King John requested the monks of Christ church to appoint the bishop of Norwich in his room. But they, preferring to exercise their ancient freedom of election, appointed their sub-prior instead, and sent him to Rome that his appointment might be confirmed by the pope. The man was so proud of his election that he told every one about it before he reached Rome, and when King John heard the news, he came down upon the monks of Canterbury in his fury and forced them to accept his nominee ; who also was sent to Rome for the pall. Here was an opportunity for Innocent III. ; he refused to confirm the sub-prior's election because of inefficiency, and declined to accept the bishop of Norwich on the ground that kings should not be concerned with the appointment of spiritual persons. He then ordered the Canterbury monks to elect an Englishman named *Stephen Langton*, who was then chancellor of the university of Paris, which they did. But John would not receive Langton and expelled the Canterbury monks for having elected him, confiscating their possessions. Innocent III.



KING JOHN.

then did a very bold act, he laid the kingdom under an *interdict* ; that is to say, he prohibited the English clergy from performing spiritual duties until such times as John would submit to papal authority.

4. The humiliation of King John.—The result of that action of Innocent III. is generally overstated. No doubt there were many persons who believed that the pope had such power as Innocent claimed, and obeyed his mandate; but there were a large number of others, well acquainted with the struggles that the Church had made for many generations to retain its national independence against the aggrandizement of the papacy, who cared very little for its denunciations. John and Innocent were each determined to try who could hold out the longest. All prelates or clergy who obeyed the pope were expelled from the realm and their benefices seized. In this the king was upheld by the bishops of Durham, Winchester, and Norwich, who agreed that the pope had no legal right to issue such an edict. Innocent then *excommunicated the king*, but though that may have inconvenienced John a little it did not trouble him much, except that it made him still more bitter against the pope. For four years this state of things continued, but each year the tyrannies and exactions of John increased, so that to escape from them the clergy and barons decided to ask the pope to adopt still stronger measures. The pope had now a large standing army, the result mainly of the Crusades; with this he was in the habit of fighting against kings and emperors as if he were a temporal prince; he could therefore enforce his will by an appeal to arms, as John knew very well. In the year 1212 the pope *declared John's deposition*, and absolved his subjects from their allegiance. Soon after, Innocent gave the kingdom of England to Philip Augustus, king of France, and invited him to invade our country and dethrone John. Philip was not generally an obedient servant of the pope, but now that it suited his purpose he obeyed with considerable alacrity. John knew that as he had alienated the sympathies of the barons and prelates by his extortions, and could only rely upon the broken reed of mercenary forces, he would have no chance against the combined power of Philip and Innocent. He therefore offered his submission to the pope and agreed to receive Stephen Langton as archbishop of Canterbury. But Innocent required more than this. Through his legate, *Pandulph*, he demanded the surrender of the insignia of royalty, and that John should consent to hold the English realm as feudatory vassal of the papal see, and pay a large annual tribute of Peter's-pence to the papal exchequer. To all this the terrified king agreed; he surrendered his crown, robes, sword, and ring to Pandulph, and received them back after a day or two as a

favour from the pope. When England heard what its king had done it tingled with a sense of shame. "The king has become the pope's man," the people cried, "he has degraded himself to the level of a serf." But the king's action was to some extent politic, for it prevented another foreign invasion. Philip was ordered back, and John received his absolution from the new archbishop in the chapter-house of Winchester, July 20, 1213; but the interdict was not removed until the papal legate was satisfied with the restitution John had made.

5. Stephen Langton.—Archbishop Langton was then a very important personage, but he used his powers judiciously. He must have greatly astonished both the king and the pope by his line of conduct. Considering the enormous trouble which Innocent had taken to obtain the primacy for him, we might have expected him to uphold the papal claims; but as soon as he had entered upon the temporalities of his see he adopted an independent attitude towards the king on the one hand, and the pope on the other. He was an Englishman, and therefore refused to do anything which would dishonour his country, or injure his countrymen, or harm the national Church. John and the barons were at enmity. John was in the wrong, and therefore Langton supported the barons in demanding their ancient liberties. On the occasion of John's absolution Langton had administered an oath to him, by which the king promised to renew the laws of Edward the confessor; but the archbishop knew John's character too well to be content with a verbal promise made under compulsion. No one quite knew what the ancient laws were, but Langton searched the archives of the nation and produced the charter of Henry I., which recited those laws, and stipulated what privileges the prelates and barons respectively might claim for their order. This he laid before a private council of the nobles held at St. Paul's, London, August 25, 1213. The barons declared themselves ready to die for these liberties. "Swear it!" said Langton, and they did so. Meantime the papal legate had been traversing the country, filling up all the vacant benefices by appointing friends of John and the pope, in defiance of the rights of patrons and the prerogatives of bishops. That was more than Langton could quietly submit to, and therefore he appealed to the pope against such uncanonical intrusions, and inhibited the legate from making further appointments. John had promised to pay the bishops and clergy a large indemnity for the revenues he had abstracted from their benefices and sees in order to have the interdict removed; but when the

clergy and barons under Langton and Robert Fitz-Walter had marshalled themselves against the king and legate, thus forming what was called *The Army of God and Holy Church*, John determined to make a second abject submission to the papacy, and take the vow of a crusader, in order to counteract their plans. In return for his subserviency the pope reduced the indemnity John had covenanted to pay

to the clergy, from 100,000 to 40,000 marks, and removed the interdict June 29, 1214.

When Langton presented to the king the people's claim for their traditional liberties John, feeling himself strong in the might of his new suzerain, repudiated his promise to ratify the ancient English laws. That was "the last straw," and the barons and prelates took the field in defence of their rights. Only seven knights were with King John, while the whole nation was in arms



CHAPTER HOUSE OF OLD ST. PAUL'S. (*Hollar.*) against him.

6. Magna-Charta.—Stephen Langton would not allow time to be wasted. The king wished to submit the matter to the papal suzerain of England, but the archbishop felt this to be a national affair in which the bishops of Rome had no right to interpose, and pressed the king for an immediate decision. John then agreed to sign a

charter that he never meant to keep. The subscription of the king and the patriots took place at a little island in the Thames opposite to *Runnymede*, which is frequently visited by modern excursionists, who are glad to know it as the spot

“Where England’s ancient barons, clad in arms
And stern with conquest, from their tyrant king
(There rendered tame) did challenge and secure
The charter of our freedom.”

Archbishop Langton had the priceless document already drawn up, but, for the sake of appearances, a few formal negotiations were carried on. The skilfully worded provisions of that famous charter are sacred to this day as the foundation of all our liberties as Englishmen. It was based upon ancient codes of law, “but the vague expressions of the older charters were then exchanged for precise and elaborate provisions.” The archbishop knew that there would be a struggle for the temporal and spiritual liberties of Englishmen against the power of Rome, and he was careful so to word the seventy-eight clauses of the charter that no question might thereafter arise respecting what was due to the Church and nation from its rulers. The document was written in Latin. Translated into English its first provision runs :—

“That the *Church of England* shall be free, and hold her rights entire, and her liberties inviolate.”

After specifying these rights, and providing for freedom of the subject, and law and order in the realm, the charter concludes with a re-assertion of its initial principle :—

“That the *Church of England* be free, and that all men have and hold the aforesaid liberties truly and peaceably, freely and quietly, fully and wholly, in all things and in all places for ever.”

This charter was signed on the fifteenth of June, 1215, and is still the standard of appeal in all judicial and secular matters; English churchmen have therefore a right to maintain that it shall be also the standard by which the Church’s liberties are to be tested.

Satisfied with what they had done, the prelates and barons joyfully returned home with their retainers. But the mean-spirited king sent an embassy to Rome explaining that the first great act of the archbishop, whom Innocent III. had imposed upon him, was to defy the assumed prerogative of the papacy in this country by organizing a rebellion against the vassal of the pope. Innocent III. was furious; he proclaimed the charter void, and absolved King John from the

necessity of observing its conditions. But the English nobles stood firm ; the charter, and nothing but the charter, should be the basis of their allegiance to the king. When Innocent heard that the barons despised his mandate he ordered Langton and the bishops to excommunicate them, and strongly reprimanded the prelates for their action in promoting such contempt of the holy see. But the archbishop of Canterbury refused to obey the pope's decree, whereupon Innocent suspended him and other bishops from their offices. Had the writs of suspension been issued while the prelates were in England, very little notice would have been taken of them ; but they were first invited to attend a council held at Rome, and after they had embarked for their voyage, the sentence of their suspension was proclaimed. They were not allowed to land on English soil again until they had paid heavy fines for their contempt of the papal decrees. Stephen Langton was hardly the kind of man to admit himself in the wrong by paying a fine, so he preferred to stay abroad during the rest of John's reign.



MAGNA-CHARTA ISLAND.

7. Subsequent events.—To show their sympathy for Stephen Langton the canons of York elected his brother Simon to the northern primacy. But both king and pope refused to approve the election, and forced the clergy to receive Walter de Gray, bishop of Worcester, instead. Freed from the restraint of Stephen Langton's influence

John turned savagely upon the barons, with the help of a host of foreign mercenary soldiers; and, with the assent of Pope Innocent III., plunged the country into a far more distressful condition than it had ever known. Lawlessness, anarchy, strife, pillage, and murder were filling the land with terror; when both tyrants, Innocent III. and King John, were called to their account, A.D. 1216. The barons had previously invited Louis, the dauphin of France, to rid them of John's rule; but as he began to divide their territory among his French friends, they gladly returned to their allegiance to the Plantagenet line; and after John's death they accepted his son Henry for their king, although he was only a boy of nine years old. At the coronation of Henry III., Langton's charter was accepted (as indeed it was by all succeeding kings) as the first official act of the reign, by the advice of William, earl of Pembroke, who (with the papal legate and the bishop of Winchester) was the guardian of the young king. It was not until 1218 that Archbishop Langton was allowed to return. Then he set himself to reform abuses which had been growing for some time. He was a great advocate of clerical celibacy, and somewhat disposed to the magnificent in ecclesiastical ritual. For instance, to restore religious fervour in the country he caused the memory of several famous English saints to be revived by translating their remains to much grander shrines; thus Wulfstan of Worcester, and Thomas of Canterbury, were translated amidst imposing ceremonies, to witness which nobles and prelates came from foreign countries. Stephen Langton was able during his lifetime to resist the encroachments of the see of Rome, but he died in July 1228, and left the English Church at the mercy of the foreign ecclesiastics introduced by King Henry. Langton will always be remembered as a brave prelate and a wise statesman. The vigour infused into the Church during the latter days of his primacy had its greatest effect in rebuilding of old, and construction of new churches. Westminster-abbey nave and transepts present to us the finest specimen of *Early-English* architecture. The abbey church which Edward the Confessor built had fallen into decay, and a great part of it (see page 135) was rebuilt by the direction and at the cost of Henry III., between the years 1220 and 1269, and was perhaps the best work undertaken by that monarch. He was a good husband and a dutiful son, but was so occupied with paying attention to his mother's friends from Poitou, and his wife's relations from Provence, that he somewhat neglected his duties to the English.

8. The mendicant orders.—About this time there flourished several brotherhoods, or orders of *friars*, who went about among all classes of the people without shoes or money, holding open-air services and preaching vigorously, to the great disgust of the more luxurious monks, who thought it insolent on the part of these new enthusiasts “to pretend to be better than other folk.” They had their origin in the devotion of two men—Dominic, a Spaniard; and Francis, of Assisi in Italy. Their lives and writings form the subjects of many



CITY OF ASSISI

devotional works in the present day. Dominic had been very eager in the vigorous persecution of the Albigenses in Languedoc, and his zeal in preaching against their so-called heresies gained for him the countenance of Innocent III., who permitted him to establish an order of preachers who were called after him *Dominican friars*. The first instalment of his order arrived in England in 1219. Their dress was black, hence “*Black-friars*.” Five years after the establishment of the Dominicans, Pope Honorius III. permitted Francis to found a second order which was called the *Franciscan*. In imitation of our Lord’s

command that his apostles should carry neither purse nor scrip, nor shoes, nor changes of raiment, Francis adopted a very rough garb of grey wool, bound round the waist by a rope; hence "*Grey-friars*." A.D. 1224 is the date of their first appearance in this country. Those preaching orders lived upon the alms of their admirers, retaining no more than was sufficient for the needs of each day, bestowing the surplus upon the squalid poor, or, as in later years, upon the building of a church. This practice of continual begging gained for them the name of *mendicants*. Within a few years the country was overrun by them. It is thought that they had a special commission from the popes to bring about the submission of the Church of England, which had so long defied the papal power. They are sometimes called "the pope's militia." If such was their mission they overdid it by coming here in too great force. There were other orders besides the black and grey, such as the Augustinian, or "*Austin-friars*," and the Carmelite, or "*White-friars*." The city of London and other towns preserve in the names of streets evidences of the places where these friars respectively abided. The Franciscans were devoted to the study of nature, and on their roll of honour are the names of Roger Bacon, Alexander Hales, and other philosophers. But the Dominicans were the greatest theologians, and the works of Thomas Aquinas are still revered by



A PILGRIM (see page 163).

Romanists as a defence against heresy. The original zeal of the friars cannot be gainsaid, and for awhile they put the monks and clergy to shame by their conscientious and earnest lives. Yet, alas! they soon found a way of eluding the vow of absolute poverty, and often lived more luxuriously and housed themselves more warmly than the richest communities of monks. At first they were welcomed throughout the Christian world, as all true devotional enthusiasm will ever be; but, as was the case with the privileged orders of monks (see page 184), being made independent of episcopal super-

vision, they went wherever they chose, and interfered with the work of the parish clergy, thus becoming powerful agents in the work of demoralizing the Church of England, and bringing it more under papal tyranny.

CHAPTER XIV. (A.D. 1228-1327)

THE REACTION AGAINST ROMAN SUPREMACY

“ And what melodious sounds at times prevail !
And, ever and anon, how bright a gleam
Pours on the surface of the turbid stream.

Fair court of Edward ! wonder of the world !
I see a matchless blazonry unfurled
Of wisdom, magnanimity, and love.

1. Edmund Rich of Canterbury.—Stephen Langton was succeeded in the see of Canterbury by *Richard Weathershed*, but his term of office lasted only two years. He was not a popular prelate. He died abroad in 1231, and there was not another archbishop until *Edmund*, surnamed *Rich*, of Abingdon, was consecrated in 1234. Three men chosen by the Canterbury monks to succeed Weathershed had been rejected by the pope, who claimed the right to nominate to English sees. The popes had then reached the height of their autocratic power, and were obeyed from sheer terror all over Europe. The people of England were very heavily taxed by Henry III., a notoriously extravagant prince in public as well as private expenditure, and the barons and clergy had to protest bitterly against his demands upon them. Not only so, but the pope sent legates to demand tribute from the English people, which served to increase their irritation. *Matthew Paris*, the great chronicler of this age, likens the Englishmen of his day to sheep, for whose destruction the pope and king, as shepherd and wolf, were allied together. It is impossible to describe the impoverished condition of the nobility and clergy through those combined exactions. The great charter of Stephen Langton, though repeatedly acknowledged by Henry III., was as often ignored by him ; and it became necessary for clergy and laity to band themselves together as a *patriotic party* against the unholy alliance of king and courtiers with the papacy. Archbishop Edmund, although a nominee of the pope, attached himself to the patriots ; and assembled the barons in council at Westminster, as Langton had done in the previous reign. Their object was to force Henry to observe the conditions of Magna-Charta. The king would promise anything if the prelates and nobles would grant him supplies,



HENRY THE THIRD.

and they, in their anxiety to be loyal, too readily accepted his fair speeches, and gave him what he needed, in order to keep him out of the toils of unscrupulous adventurers from abroad. The absolute necessity laid upon the clergy to bear the lion's share of those new impositions, while on the one hand it made patriots of many, resulted on the other hand in the promotion of such superstitions as brought wealth to the Church; especially the *sacrifice of masses*, for the repose of the souls of persons who had died, which were thought to be beneficial to the departed, whatever their previous lives had been. The patriotic party were powerless to stem the invasion of foreign

nobles; and although in Langton's time (1226) the demand of Rome for two appointments in each cathedral church to be at the disposal of the pope was indignantly rejected, many foreign ecclesiastics were soon intruded upon the English Church. In 1229, the pope's temporal influence here had grown to such an extent that he demanded a tenth of English property on behalf of his see. The nobles refused to pay any such claim. Their estates, they said, were not fiefs of the pope. But as some of the prelates had been nominated by the papacy the clergy could not escape so easily. The king and nobles often upheld papal claims on Church revenues to rid themselves of any such tribute. The pope was far too powerful to be altogether ignored, and so, to preserve England from his enmity, the Church was plundered. In 1231 a mysterious band of patriots in masks kept the foreign clergy, who occupied English livings, in a perpetual state of terror by sudden attacks upon their storehouses, the contents of which were sold cheaply to the poor. The leader of this band was *Sir Robert de Twenge*, who seems to have been encouraged in his proceedings by Hubert de Burgh, the last of the great justiciars. The pope protested against such treatment of his incumbents, and, in 1237, sent Cardinal

Otho, as legate extraordinary, to uphold the papal dignity and protect the foreign clergy. Otho held a council at St. Paul's, London, in November of that year with the avowed intention of promulgating a visitation of monasteries, the deposition of such clergy as held more than one benefice, and other high moral reforms ; but really to create vacancies for papal nominees. The country was indignant at his interference, and the bishops even refused to give the legate hospitality. They thought it was better to have clergy in England holding more offices than one, but within reach of their duties, than that the benefices should be presented singly to foreigners who resided abroad. Unfortunately Henry III. upheld the office of the legate in order to promote his own schemes. There seems to have been something like a conspiracy between king and pope to *denationalize* the English Church and Realm. When Otho found that the English were averse to his mission, he endeavoured to conciliate them by offering to permit the observance of all ancient privileges on condition that the clergy paid him a consideration. But his overtures were refused, and some of the nobles went to Rome to protest against his infringement of their rights as patrons of livings on their estates. They obtained very little permanent satisfaction, and soon after, encouraged by Pope Gregory, Otho demanded a fifth part of English Church revenues, to assist in defraying the cost of a new crusade, as the war between the pope and the emperor of Germany about this time was called. A feeble resistance was made by the clergy, but ultimately they yielded to the audacious impost. Further, to obtain additional funds for his campaigns, the pope offered all the benefices of the English Church to the Romans and their friends in return for their assistance. In short, every conceivable advantage was taken by this unscrupulous pontiff, with the connivance of the iniquitous King Henry, to provide resources at the expense of the English Church. Such tyranny was more than Edmund Rich could bear. He would gladly have been a second Langton, but it was not in him. Owing to these foreign encroachments and the consequent demoralized condition of the English clergy, he felt himself altogether unfitted for his responsible office ; therefore, he resigned the archbishopric and went into voluntary exile, dying of a broken heart in November 1240.

2. Robert "Grossetête," of Lincoln.—A stronger mind was soon forthcoming to fight the Church's battle against the potentate of Rome and lead the English barons in their struggle against the

vices of the king, as well as to resist Henry's seizure of Church temporalities during the vacation of a benefice, and revive the dying embers of religious life in England. That was *Robert*, surnamed "*Grossetête*," or "*Greathead*," on account of his scholarly attainments, who had been made bishop of Lincoln, A.D. 1235. Living as he did during a time of universal lawlessness and anarchy, and presiding over the largest diocese in England, his fearless efforts on behalf of justice, without respect of persons, have earned for him undying fame. He utilized the religious enthusiasm of the friars to reform the habits of his clergy, and insisted that the monasteries should make due provision for the adequate ministerial care of parishes from which they drew tithes. At first he had belonged to the party which favoured the papal claims; but when he realized the depravity and cupidity of the pope and his adherents he went right over to the national side, and boldly protested against the ambitious designs of the Roman see. *Boniface of Savoy*, uncle to the queen of England, had succeeded Edmund Rich in the see of Canterbury; but Grossetête was able without difficulty to influence the new-comer, and his advice was asked in most things concerning the affairs of our Church and country. By his influence *Richard-de-la-Wych* was appointed to the see of Chichester, and thus another notable addition was made to the band of patriotic prelates. The king had desired that another man should have the Sussex bishopric, and appealed to the pope against the appointment of Wych, withholding the temporalities of the see until a decision was arrived at. That appeal came before a council at Lyons, A.D. 1250, where the pope then lived (see p. 168). Grossetête was present, and did not hesitate to preach a sermon before Innocent IV. and the college of cardinals, denouncing them as the authors of all the troubles that afflicted the English Church. "The cause," he said, "the fountain, the origin of all this is the court of Rome, because it commits the care of the flock to ravening wolves." Much more of a like nature found a place in his remarkable discourse, and we may set it down as the first definite public protest on the part of the English Church, through its representatives, against the inveterate worldliness of the papacy. Innocent was obliged to uphold the appointment of Wych, in the hope of conciliating Grossetête; but the note of defiance had been sounded, and henceforth the bishops of Rome had often to submit to open reproofs. No foreign cleric was instituted in the diocese of Lincoln during Grossetête's term of office. The pope had commanded

him to institute a mere child to a canonry at Lincoln, but he refused ; and wrote a letter, remarkable for its boldness, to the effect that he would resist and oppose the orders contained in the pope's letters, "because they deprived Christian souls of the ministry of their pastors, and were altogether opposed to the sanctity of the apostolic see, and contrary to the catholic faith." The popular enthusiasm in England for Grossetête prevented the pope's anger from harming the bishop, but he was never forgiven, as we may imagine. The legate Otho was now replaced by another, named *Martin*, who was still more eager to seize upon English benefices, and to demand aids for the papal exchequer than his predecessor had been. That still further alienated the people from any affection they may have felt for the see of Rome and made them think the more highly of the great reformer Grossetête. So great were the evils that resulted from the introduction of foreign nobles into the councils of the realm that Grossetête, in combination with *Earl Simon de Montfort* and other patriot peers, demanded a voice

in the election of the king's advisers, and in that way prevented the utter subversion of the government by aliens. Had Grossetête lived, his efforts would doubtless have ended in the complete rebellion of the national party against the papal yoke ; but he died in 1253, much to the delight of the pope, who asked "every true son of the Roman Church to rejoice with him now that his enemy was removed." Even in his last illness Robert the Greathead fearlessly denounced the Roman pontiff as a heretic and antichrist for his iniquitous claim to "provide" the English benefices with foreign clergy who seldom resided near, or cared for, their cures. Archbishop *Sewell*, of York, endeavoured for a time to take Grossetête's place as the champion of the English Church against the foreigners, but the two men were incomparable ; for when the pope excommunicated *Sewell* for his resistance he pined away and died.



SIMON DE MONTFORT.

3. The first representative parliament.—Earl Simon was then leader of the national party against foreign courtiers, and he was as firm in upholding the rights of the English Church against the demands of Rome, as he was in resisting the king's extravagant taxes for the support of an improvident court. Although the king was already helplessly in debt he pledged the country to the cost of a war in Sicily, waged by the pope; and when the barons objected he attempted to silence them by procuring papal excommunications against them; but Earl Simon's party watched the shore, and searched all persons who landed from Italy, seizing and destroying any papal edicts or "provisions" that were found upon them. In 1256 two papal envoys were busy in our country raising money for the see of Rome, and it was about that time, during the papacy of Alexander IV., that the papal demand for *annates*, or "first-fruits"—that is, the first year's income of an incumbent—was first heard of in England. So great was the popular hatred against foreigners that once when an alien had been installed as a prebendary of St. Paul's cathedral (A.D. 1259), three young men, in the broad daylight, in the presence of a large assembly, murdered the new incumbent and two friends who were with him; none of the bystanders interfering with, or attempting to capture the assassins. So many discreditable measures were adopted for relieving the Church of its just possessions, that the clergy offered to pay the king a very large sum towards the debts he had incurred to the pope, on condition that they should be free from all further papal or regal demands. But the pope and the king were far from being satisfied, and although King Henry and his son Edward had sworn to accept the *Provisions of Oxford*, drawn up by the barons in 1258 and renewed the following year at Westminster, in order to reform the grievances under which the Church and Realm laboured, the king soon evaded his promise, and the barons took up arms against him in sheer despair of obtaining their liberties by more constitutional means. In that struggle the patriots were at first victorious, both king and prince being made prisoners. Earl Simon was appointed governor of the country, and he summoned representatives of the citizens and burgesses to assist the knights of the shire and the nobles and prelates in their deliberations for the welfare of the country. This was in 1265, and is the first instance of *commoners* being summoned to "*parliament*," a French term by which the "witan" had for a long time been designated. In summoning this experimental assembly Earl Simon was guided by what he had

seen successfully done in the annual Church synods, that had continued without interruption from the times of Archbishop Theodore and held their sessions in the council chambers, or chapter-houses, of the various cathedrals. The Church council chambers were placed at the disposal of the witans also ; for in the national councils, which were part Church synods and part parliaments, the bishops had co-ordinate jurisdiction as legislators and judges. Accordingly, Earl Simon's representative assembly of lords and commons met in the *chapter-house of Westminster-abbey*, where indeed succeeding parliaments continued to sit when they met in London, until St. Stephen's collegiate church was alienated to the use of legislators. It is well to remember in the present day the true origin and locality of the early parliaments, because many ill-informed persons do not scruple to declare that the Church of England is the creation of the state legislature. The converse of this notion is the truer idea, as all impartial historians

have shown us. Earl Simon did not live long after the first representative parliament was summoned, for in the same year he was killed at the battle of Evesham by the forces who sided with the king's party. Henry, however, agreed to continue the representation of the Commons in the national councils, although such parliaments were chiefly summoned by him to grant funds for his vast expenditure. He would say how much he wanted, and then the three estates of the Realm—which are



CHAPTER HOUSE, WESTMINSTER-ABBEY.

the spirituality, the nobility, and the commonalty—would declare how much each was willing to contribute. It often happened that the clergy engaged themselves to pay the largest share, because they were exempt from the ordinary taxation. King Henry died in 1272, and his son *Edward*, then absent on a crusade, was proclaimed as his successor. He was crowned at Westminster in 1274, by *Robert Kilwardby*, who had replaced Boniface of Savoy as primate.

4. The English Church under Edward I.—In Edward's reign the opposition on the part of English Church and Realm to the suzerainty of the Roman pontiff was of a much more organized character than it had previously been. The undue influence of the monks and friars over the sick and dying whom they tended ministerially, by which many estates were bequeathed to religious foundations, was now declared illegal, because estates in the hands of the Church could not be alienated, but were held in perpetual succession, so that the acquisition of property by religious houses meant the loss of revenue and feudal service to the crown. A statute was passed in 1279, forbidding the Church to acquire lands by will or purchase without the consent of the feudal lord. It is called the statute of '*Mortmain*,' or '*dead-hand*,' because property in the hands of religious corporations was useless for the purposes of state. This statute, while it checked the power of the Church of England, was really aimed at the encroachments of Rome. *John Peckham* was then archbishop of Canterbury, better known as *Friar John*, an exceedingly officious and litigious man. He called together (*convocatio*), in 1281, a meeting of the clergy of his province to protest against the mortmain law, and reprimanded all who refused to attend his "convocation"; but as he had neglected to obtain the king's permission to call them together, and as it was distinctly illegal to promulgate anything prejudicial to the king's prerogative, Peckham found himself in difficulties. Edward I. then determined to make the clergy of his realm subject to the civil laws. If any of them paid spiritual allegiance to the pope he did not object, provided that their intercourse with Rome did not prejudice the kingdom or the revenues of the nation. In 1283 Edward summoned the higher clergy to parliament and demanded a subsidy from them. They excused themselves on the ground that the parochial clergy were not represented. Thereupon, for the first time, two representatives of the parochial clergy were ordered to be selected from each diocese, to meet with the representatives of cathedral chapters

and the prelates, to vote "for the honour of the Church, the peace of the kingdom, and the comfort of the king." The clergy were unwilling to grant the king any subsidies; they had to make a choice between their duty to the nation and the claims made upon them by the pope, and, unfortunately, through the influence of the legates, they preferred to exasperate the king rather than offend the see of Rome. They told Edward I. that they would be glad to provide for his needs "if the sovereign pontiff would let them." They could scarcely have chosen a quicker method of exasperating the king. The leader of the royal counsellors at this time was *Burnell*, bishop of Bath, the first great chan-



BATH ABBEY (CATHEDRAL) CHURCH.

cellor of England; and he added to his many laurels by framing and passing through parliament the statute "*Circumspecte Agatis*" (13 Edw. I. st. iv. c. 1), which defined the powers of the ecclesiastical judges and limited their authority to spiritual matters. Still further to bring the clergy within the ordinary laws of the country which maintained them, Burnell advised the king to summon the inferior clergy from both provinces to send representatives to parliament, and

thus, in 1295, the first *complete* representative parliament met; to which, besides the barons and prelates who had so long sat there by virtue of their nobility, one proctor was summoned to represent the chapter of each cathedral, and two proctors to represent the parochial clergy of each diocese; as well as two knights from each shire, two citizens from each city, and two burgesses from each borough. The clergy knew that this was a summons to them in their secular aspect as citizens of the state, for the purposes of taxation; they, therefore, placed many difficulties in the way of attendance, preferring to make what grants they were willing to afford in their more spiritual synods; *i.e.* in the provincial convocations of York and Canterbury; for, although we have for some time been dealing with the chief points of Church history independently of their relation to the northern or southern province, it will be remembered that they had continued all the while distinct; and sometimes out of sheer obstinacy the convocation of one province would make different arrangements to those put forward by the other assembly. In 1293 *Robert of Winchelsea* was made archbishop of Canterbury. There had been quite a rapid succession of different popes about that period, but in 1294, whilst Winchelsea was at Rome for the confirmation of his appointment, two candidates were put forward as rivals for the papacy, which resulted in the election of Celestine V., who, however, soon resigned in favour of the crafty and arrogant Boniface VIII., a man who did more than any of his predecessors to make the European kings repudiate papal supremacy. Celestine is said to have prophesied that as Boniface "had entered upon the papacy like a fox, he would reign like a lion, and die like a dog." In 1296 Boniface VIII. issued his famous mandate "*Clericis laicos*" to the clergy of all Christian countries, commanding them not to pay any contributions to secular powers without his permission; and this was pleaded by Winchelsea, on behalf of the English clergy, as a reason for refusing subsidies to the king. Whereupon Edward I. read the Church a terrible lesson. He called the lay peers together, and by their advice told the clergy that if they would not pay their share to the public expenditure they should be put out of the protection of the law. The northern convocation soon submitted to Edward's demands, but Winchelsea was obstinate, and the goods and chattels of all religious persons who had not obtained the king's protection by contributing to the national needs before Easter 1297, were confiscated to the realm. When Boniface VIII.

found that he had reckoned without his host, so far as England was concerned, he relaxed his infamous decree, and then there was a general shaking of hands all round. But it was something for the national party in England to be proud of that they had bent the iron will of one of the most despotic occupants of the papal see, and their success helped them to limit his supremacy still more when in 1301 Boniface took the part of the Scots against King Edward.

5. The Pope's claim to supremacy in Scotland.—The reign of Edward I. brought great glory and prosperity to this country, because of his military prowess and personal nobility of character.

"He was the first English king since the conquest who loved his people with a personal love, and craved their love back again. To his trust in them we owe our parliament; to his care for them the great statutes which stand in the forefront of our laws.

... His life was pure; his piety, even when it stooped to the superstition of the time, manly and sincere; while his high sense of duty saved him from the frivolous self-indulgence of his successors" (*Green*). In his day Wales was permanently united to England, and an attempt was made to unite Scotland also. There had been rival claimants among the



Scots for the kingship there, and Edward was asked to be arbitrator. He decided in favour of *Baliol*, on condition that the king of England should be accounted feudal superior. Soon after Baliol, allied with France, rebelled against his vassalage; and Edward in consequence compelled Baliol to surrender the Scottish crown, and governed Scotland with English nobles. He brought with him from Scotland, with the other regalia, a stone on which the Scottish kings had for many generations been crowned, and which is said to have been removed from Iona to *Scone*. There was a tradition among the Scots that their country could never be conquered so long as they retained possession of that stone; and as Edward desired to reduce Scotland to his sway he caused the stone to be carried to London and enclosed in the *English coronation chair*, where it may still be seen in the chapel of Edward the confessor at Westminster-abbey. The cause of the Scottish people was next championed by *William Wallace*, who defeated the English forces at Stirling in 1297. Edward again took the field, and Wallace was defeated at Falkirk in 1298. The Scots then appealed to the pope against the claims of Edward to supremacy over them, and Boniface VIII., claiming to be the feudal lord of Scotland, commanded Edward to abstain from further conquests there and appear before him at Rome to answer for his invasion. On receiving this edict Edward summoned a parliament to Lincoln which declared that Scotland had never been a fief of the papal see, that the kings of England had never defended their temporal rights before any foreign judge, ecclesiastical or civil, and that it would be subversive of the dignity of the English crown, and the liberties, rights, and customs of the English realm, were Edward to do so now. Archbishop Winchelsea, who had been appointed by Boniface to act as papal commissioner, visited the king in Scotland and warned him against further attacks, urging "that Jerusalem would not fail to protect her citizens, and to cherish, like mount Zion, those who trusted in the Lord." Edward curtly silenced him by saying that "neither mount Zion nor Jerusalem could prevent him from maintaining what all the world knew to be his right" (*Hook*). But Winchelsea induced the other bishops to join with him against the king and nobles; consequently the clergy had to suffer, by increased taxation, for the indiscretions of the primate. Winchelsea then joined a conspiracy to dethrone the king and set up his undutiful son. Some kind friend provided the king with treasonable correspondence to which Winchelsea had affixed

the primatial seal; and Edward sent the evidence of this traitorous conduct to the pope, who was bound in justice to condemn the archbishop. Winchelsea was exiled for the rest of Edward's reign. That brought the king and pope (Clement V.) to a more friendly understanding. The pope was willing that Edward should exact a tenth of the Church revenues, and the king permitted Clement to claim "annates" (page 220) from English benefices. But the parliament, sitting at Carlisle in 1307, once more protested against the multiplied forms of papal exactions, and refused to allow the papal legate to leave England with the moneys he had collected. That was the first anti-papal act of parliament, but not by any means the last.

6. The reign of Edward II.—Edward I. died in July 1307. During the twenty years that his son *Edward II.* reigned, the Church and country returned to a deplorable condition. Archbishop Winchelsea came back to England and endeavoured to make up for his past blunders by wiser counsels, but that did not avail the Church against wickedness in high places. Pope Clement V. had ordered the suppression of the knights Templar, and Edward II., with his supporters, did not scruple to play the part of common thieves in



EDWARD THE SECOND.

abstracting from the treasures which that order had accumulated in their famous abode at Fleet-street, London, many jewels and much specie, some of it belonging to persons who had sent their valuables to the military monks for safe custody. The temple soon afterwards came into the possession of the society of lawyers who still retain it. Archbishop Winchelsea died the year before the battle of Bannockburn, by which the Scots under Robert Bruce regained their independence. *Walter Reynolds* was the next archbishop of Canterbury, and during his primacy (1313-27)

the papacy increased its authority over the English Church. Reynolds went to Rome, and by notorious bribery obtained from Clement V. eight *Bulls*, as the papal decrees are usually called, to give him additional powers over his suffragans and the clergy. The death of Clement rendered the bulls invalid before Reynolds could carry them into execution; but he obtained a renewal of them in 1317 from Pope John XXII., on condition that eighteen bishoprics in England should be "reserved" for nominees of the papacy during the next seventeen years. That was a new method of the popes for gaining influence here. The "reservations" were generally disposed of during the lifetime of incumbents, so that, so the popes said, the bishopric or benefice might be "provided" for in case of the decease of any occupant thereof. The man with the longest purse generally obtained the highest office. Archbishop Walter Reynolds was no exception to this rule, and he joined the political conspiracy which deposed, and afterwards assassinated the unpopular and impotent king. His son, *Edward III.*, although only fourteen years old, was made king, under guardians; and during his long reign, many protests against the supremacy of the pope in England were passed by parliament.



FOURTEENTH CENTURY SHIPS (see page 230).

CHAPTER XV. (A.D. 1328-1384)

BEGINNINGS OF CHURCH REFORM

“The Sacred Book,
In dusty sequestration wrapt too long,
Assumes the accents of our native tongue.

.
They dreamt not of a perishable home
Who thus could build.”

1. Statutes against Rome.—In 1328, Edward III. claimed the throne of France by his mother's right. The French denied it to him, and as Philip, who obtained the crown, encroached upon the English possessions in Aquitaine and supported the Scots in their opposition to English supremacy, Edward then made war upon France, and thus began that series of hostilities, alternated with periods of truce, which lasted 100 years. The pope, in 1343, had offered to arbitrate in this question, but Edward III. was far too wise a prince to let him do so without a distinct understanding that such mediation should have no special authority by reason of the pope's spiritual dignity, but merely from his individual position as an eminent man. The antagonism to the papacy on the part of the English Church and nation was much more successful in the reign of Edward III. than it had been for a long while. For example, the tribute of 1000 marks a year, which King John had arranged should be paid by England to the see of Rome, was not then paid at all. Moreover, a resolute opposition was being made to the papal “provision” of benefices in England. In 1349, Clement VI., a most extravagant and unscrupulous pope, endeavoured to regain the lost influence of his see in this country by making a new claim. He demanded “provision” for two of his cardinals out of the revenues of English benefices. Englishmen were indignant at his audacity, and Edward III. wrote to Clement on behalf of the nation to protest against such monstrous usurpation; using the opportunity for reclaiming the right of the crown to appoint to the English sees, of which John XXII. had unjustly acquired the patronage. In that Edward was supported by the English legislators, who petitioned him against other exactions of the papacy. They were willing to pay whatever they could spare to enable their king to conduct glorious wars abroad, but nothing to enrich a foreign prince.

The *battle of Crecy* in 1346 greatly increased the power of England in Europe, so that the English parliament felt itself strong enough to enact stringent provisions against the aliens. Foreign clergy were expelled from the country, ships which brought them hither were confiscated, and any who brought papal letters or bulls into the land were condemned to forfeit all their possessions. In 1349 a terrible pestilence known as the *Black death* had desolated Europe. It was introduced into England by the soldiers returning from the wars, made fearful ravages amongst the inhabitants, and prevented the consideration of any other subject by statesmen. As soon as the parliament could return to the discussion of foreign affairs it passed a statute which declared papal "provisions" for benefices (referred to at the close of the last chapter) to be illegal, and forbade any one to carry out papal orders with respect to them. That law is known as the first statute of *Provisors* (29 Edw. III., c. 4), and ordered that "kings and all other lords are to present unto benefices of their own or their ancestors' foundations, and not the pope of Rome." This was followed in 1353 by the first statute of *Præmunire*,¹ which declared that all who should sue for redress in the papal courts should be put out of the protection of the law of England, and forfeit all their goods to the state. Although the conduct of Edward and his parliament, with the assent and consent of the prelates and clergy, in this repudiation of an alien jurisdiction is worthy of all praise, the wonder is that the English people should have borne papal oppression for so long.

2. The Universities.—The prosperous reign of Edward I. resulted in the advancement of all kinds of learning, and the increase of schools and colleges. We have seen that the monasteries had for a long time been the chief seats of learning; but there were now a number of other schools besides, chiefly under the superintendence of the poor secular clergy; and when old collegiate foundations were alienated to monastic uses, the deprived secular canons and "child-masters" set up halls for teaching, at convenient centres to the great rivers and roads, as at Oxford and Cambridge. There is a tradition that Alfred the great founded the *University of Oxford*, but that is now declared to be inaccurate; indeed, very little is known as to how the great teaching centres rose to eminence. It was probably through such famous men as *Vacarius* and *Roger Bacon* that Oxford gained its

¹ *Præmunire* was the first word of the writs issued to the sheriffs under this act, e.g. *Præmunire facias A.B.*; that is, "cause A.B. to be forewarned."

reputation as a seat of learning ; and thither many lads were sent, often at a very early age and with little or no money, to make their way in the ranks of scholars. Such as could afford it lived with the tutors in the halls, but most youths lived anywhere they could, and often nowhere ; even the teachers being frequently without habitation. Such poverty, and its consequent lawlessness, often caused the respectable citizens of that important English town to rise against the depredations committed by the students ; and the scholars themselves were divided into hostile parties and factions, whose struggles often gave the key-note to strifes that deluged England with blood. But the vast numbers who went to Oxford indicated a desire for learning at



that time, and many persons were led to establish colleges and halls to keep the young men orderly. By the middle of the fourteenth century Merton, Baliol, Exeter, Oriel, University, and Queen's colleges at Oxford were flourishing ; most of which had been promoted by persons who believed that such benevolence would obtain for them pardon and grace in the world to come. The origin of the *University of Cambridge* is involved in more obscurity than that of Oxford, but it received a great impetus in the reign of King John,

GATE OF MERTON COLLEGE, OXFORD. when a very large number of Oxford students and tutors left that town, because of the king's injustice to them, and set up new colleges at Reading and Cambridge. Those in Cambridge remained, and were added to from time to time by pious founders, in the same way as the colleges of Oxford. The foreign universities of Paris and Bologna were imitated in the granting of degrees to students, in accordance with the academical attainments of each scholar ; the most successful being promoted to fellowships in colleges and halls, whilst others were granted the licence of professors

to teach others inside or outside of the colleges. As Oxford and Cambridge grew to be more noted as seats of learning, their professors and doctors became famous in the annals of the time.

3. John de Wycliffe.—The history of our Church during the third quarter of the fourteenth century centres round the person of *John de Wycliffe*. His ancestors were Norman barons, and received for their share in the conquest some lands on the northern boundary of Yorkshire, close to the river Tees, near a village called Wycliffe, whence their name. Some of his relatives had been for several generations parsons of the church at Wycliffe. John was born about the year 1320, and sent to Oxford at an early age, where he soon distinguished himself. Having obtained high positions in several different colleges, notably as master of Baliol and warden of Canterbury hall, he proceeded to the degree of doctor in theology; his lectures gaining for him great applause and wide repute. In 1366 he was expelled from his wardenship of Canterbury hall by archbishop Simon Langham, on the ground that, as Canterbury hall was founded by Islip, archbishop of Canterbury, only monks should be admitted to its privileges; Wycliffe being a "secular" priest. In consequence of that, Wycliffe left Oxford and plunged into the politics of his day; joining the national party led by *John of Ghent* (or Gaunt), duke of Lancaster, the king's third son. Urban V., who was then pope, had renewed an old demand for tribute from England, and in 1366 Edward laid the request before his parliament; which declared, in effect, that—

"No Italian priest

Should tithe or toll in their dominion;"

and that John's agreement to pay 1000 marks a year was illegal, being contrary to his coronation oath, and made without the consent of the nobles. (Stat. 40, Edward III.) The parliament also bound themselves to support the king in resisting the papacy, should Urban proceed to measures of force; and further, they withheld the contributions of Rome-shot which had been subscribed from the days of the Anglo-Saxon kings. Wycliffe, by his writings, championed that national cause, and gained great fame among all classes of the people. For awhile the pope did not re-assert his claims, and Wycliffe then found time to expose and condemn the vices of the monks and friars. But the question of papal tribute, and "provisions," was revived in 1374, and a commission was sent from England to Bruges, to treat with the pope's ambassadors on the subject, Wycliffe being

one of the selected commissioners. He stayed abroad two years, and learnt enough to make him determine not only to continue resisting the papal claims, but to denounce the Roman pontiff as the adversary of Christ. The result of the commission was not satisfactory, inasmuch as it left the questions at issue undecided; but the commissioners each received a substantial recognition of their patriotic endeavours; Wycliffe's reward being the rectory of Lutterworth in Leicestershire,



LUTTERWORTH CHURCH.

the church of which, though twice restored, remains very much as it was when Wycliffe ministered there. In his study at Lutterworth, Wycliffe composed sundry theses against the received doctrines and practices of the Roman Church, which were immediately received with approbation by a large circle of admirers, some of whom he selected and trained to propagate his teachings throughout the country. They were called *poor priests*. They were "seculars" without cures, but they imitated monks and friars by travelling about barefooted in a distinctive dress. They appear to have made a great impression

upon the poor people ; and the monks, feeling that if such teaching were successful their own system must decline, accused Wycliffe before the papal courts as an heretic. Gregory XI., who then occupied the papal chair, ordered *Simon Sudbury* the archbishop of Canterbury, and *Courtenay* bishop of London, to summon Wycliffe to a trial. He was brought before them at a synod held at St. Paul's, London, A.D. 1377, but the influence of his friend John of Gaunt was so strong, that the assembly was dismissed without coming to any adverse decision.



JOHN WYCLIFFE.

4. Wycliffe's translation of the Bible.—In 1378 Pope Gregory XI. died. The French and Italians could not agree upon his successor, but each put forward a pope of their own ; the Italians choosing Urban VI., who lived at Rome ; while the French selected Clement VII., who dwelt at Avignon (page 245). Wycliffe denounced such evils of the papacy. He had also been for some time engaged in translating the Scriptures from Latin into the vulgar tongue for the assistance of his poor priests, and he now propounded the somewhat novel doctrine that all men should go to the Scriptures for their knowledge of the truths of Christianity rather than to the authoritative decrees and traditions of any Church. We have seen that parts of the Bible had often been translated into the vernacular (by Bede, Aldhelm, Alfred the great, and others) ; but there had not been a systematic or complete circulation of the Bible before Wycliffe's time. There had been a feeling of veneration in the minds of Churchmen for the sacred Word, which made them think it would be a contempt of Divine revelation to hand it about amongst the unlearned. A comparison of the original text of Wycliffe's Bible with its parallel

passage in our present version gives a good idea of the rapid changes which the English tongue has gone through since his day, but the differences between the Anglo-Saxon versions and Wycliffe's New Testament were greater still. The writings of Geoffrey Chaucer, who was a contemporary of Wycliffe, show us the character of the English tongue at that time. His *Canterbury Tales*, and the phraseology of Wycliffe's Bible, remind us of the dialects used by many of the peasants in our most secluded and unprogressive villages. But for all that, the influence of Wycliffe's Bible upon our language, and its more direct influence upon public opinion are not to be ignored. It is sad to think of the gross misuse that was afterwards made of Wycliffe's translation, in appealing to the Scriptures from a partisan standpoint against the monastic corporations which had treasured up the sacred text throughout the ages. Wycliffe's translation of the New Testament was published about 1380, and soon after that date he fell ill. Some friars came to his bedside and exhorted him, as he hoped for mercy, to unsay the harsh things he had put forth against them; but he declared that so far from his sickness being unto death, he would still live, and spend his days in the crusade he had begun against their hypocrisy.



GEOFFREY CHAUCER.

5. Wycliffe's second trial and death.—In 1381 Wat Tyler's rebellion broke out. One of its leaders was a mad priest of Kent, named *John Ball*, who declared himself to be a disciple of Wycliffe. This insurrection is known as *The Peasants' War* and did great damage to property and life, Archbishop Simon Sudbury being among the victims. Courtenay succeeded to the see of Canterbury, and immediately summoned Wycliffe to a council in London to answer for his writings. He had not the protection this time of John of Gaunt, but he had, what was quite as useful, the voice of the people; who, through his itinerant preachers, had come to look upon the rector of

Lutterworth as their hero. He had also the friendship of the princess *Anne of Bohemia*, whose influence undoubtedly saved the reformer's life. Wycliffe had ventured to preach and write against certain Romish doctrines, including that of transubstantiation, and thus alienated the sympathies of many people from him. The council convened by Courtenay was interrupted by earthquakes, which both judge and defendant declared to be a vindication of their respective positions, but no harm was done to Wycliffe. Courtenay then hurried through parliament, in the spring of 1382, an ordinance "against heretical preachers," in order to arrest Wycliffe and his friends, but that was annulled by the commons at their first sitting the next autumn; and although Courtenay never ceased to trouble the reformer, he was allowed a little time of peace at Lutterworth before his death in 1384. Opprobrious epithets have been hurled against his fame by advocates of the papacy, but true Englishmen are glad to number him among the foremost upholders of our national independence, and the pioneer of many brave men who helped, by their life and conduct, to strengthen the hearts of their countrymen; until they were enabled to overthrow entirely an intolerable and alien oppression. In what has been said thus far there is no reflection upon the loyalty of modern Romanists, nor upon the claim of their communion to be an integral part of the universal Church, but merely an attempt to show what is the simple truth, that "the bishop of Rome hath no jurisdiction in this realm of England," and, legally, *never had* (see page 244).

6. Mediæval architecture.—In chapters iv. and viii. some salient points were briefly stated to demonstrate the kind of churches



"NORMAN" DOORWAY.

in which the Celtic and Anglo-Saxon inhabitants of Britain worshipped. There are innumerable examples left to us of the styles of churches built in the days of which the third part of this book treats. A passing mention of them has been made in dealing with the times when the most notable ones were erected, but it may be as well to set down a few leading characteristics of mediæval architecture, so that when the readers of these pages

have the opportunity to visit any of our old parish churches, ruined abbeys, or grand cathedrals, they may be able to gather from the shape of arch, or pillar, or window, an idea of the age of the structure; and thus learn from its stones lessons of the undeniable antiquity and historical continuity of the Church we love. It is often said by adversaries of the English Church that most of these buildings were built by and are the property of Roman Catholics. We must learn to reply that they were built by the freewill offerings of English churchmen in an age when, as a nation, they were struggling bravely against unequal odds to maintain the independence of their Church and country, against the powerful inroads of temporal princes who claimed an unscriptural authority over the nations of the earth in the name of Him who declared that "His kingdom was not of this world." Architecture of the middle ages is usually placed in four distinct classes, but the transition from one style to another was so gradual that it is not always safe to say authoritatively to which period an old building actually belongs. There is first the Norman style, distinguished by massive pillars, simple round arches, and narrow windows, like the chapel of St. John in the Tower (page 155), which represents its primitive condition; the moulded arches in the cathedral of Durham (page 165) are an illustration of later Norman carving, when the simplicity of the masonry was relieved by characteristic adornment, such as zig-zag, dog-tooth, ravens' beaks, birds' wings, and rude devices of human and animal heads (see also page 102). The next distinctive style is called *Early-English*, which, however, is much more French than English in origin. It is chiefly distinguished by very simple pointed arches instead of the round ones familiar to earlier ages. Lincoln cathedral and Lannercroft priory church are typical examples of this architectural development. Between the Norman and Early-English styles was a *Transitional-Norman*, illustrated on page 7, wherein the Norman round arches are interlaced, forming narrow pointed arches between. The transepts of Peterborough cathedral afford additional features illustrative of the transition



"EARLY-ENGLISH" DOOR.

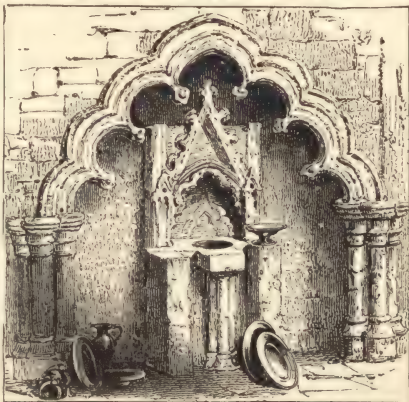


"DECORATED" DOORWAY.

improved ideas of working in stone at that time afforded unlimited scope for decoration; the narrow lancet windows were soon brought closer together, and the piers that separated them gradually made smaller, the heads being made to flow into one another in all manner of devices, until, by degrees, a number of windows together would form one exquisite window, as in the west front of York minster, shown on page 59. Thus by a gradual transition, we get flowing lines of stone; and this in its more elaborate development of "florid tracery" is called the *Decorated* style. Lichfield cathedral (page 84) is a good illustration of it. The Decorated style prevailed until

from Norman to Early-English. So do Winchester and Norwich cathedrals, with many others. Indeed it often happens that our cathedrals (like St. Albans and Canterbury), comprise in themselves the whole history of mediæval church architecture. The Early-English pillars in our churches are much lighter than the Norman, and are usually moulded, the capitals being often elegantly carved. There was no such uniformity of design in these carvings as appears in many of our modern churches, but the sculptor, often a monk, was left to his own devices, and it was a rare thing to

make two ornaments alike. The



"DECORATED" ARCH AND PISCINA.

the close of the reign of Edward III. The lovely tracery of many old windows; the trefoils, quatrefoils, cinquefoils, and roses; besides all sorts of geometrical devices, belong to the Decorated style; so do the sculptured figures, niches, and canopies inside as well as outside of the buildings. It has often been said that the ascending character of Early-English stone vaulting is suggestive of Christian hope, and of reverence for celestial things; but the Decorated style, being a mere exaggeration of the sculptor's skill, represents the glory of the builder only, and thus indicates a decline in architectural purity.

7. William of Wykeham.—The latter part of the fourteenth century is memorable as the period of *Perpendicular* church architecture, a more national style than any that preceded it. The originator was *William Long*, a native of a Hampshire village called *Wykeham*. As a boy he spent much time in studying the construction of castles and churches near his home, and being brought under the notice of the lord of the manor was engaged by him for a short time, and then recommended to King Edward III., who made him his surveyor, and employed him in the rebuilding of Windsor-castle. He became a favourite at the court, and *Froissart*, when on a visit to England, wrote:—"There was a priest about the king of England, called Sir William de Wykeham, who was so great with the king that everything was done by him, and without him nothing was done." William was made bishop of Winchester in 1366, and soon afterwards lord chancellor, but there was a growing dislike to the appointment of ecclesiastics to the higher offices in the civil administration, for which there was less necessity when the laity adopted literary pursuits. Therefore, in 1371, Wykeham was removed from the chancellorship, and retired to Winchester, where he spent a few years in transforming the Norman cathedral there according to his own ideas. Gloucester cathedral (page 159) is one of the best examples of Wykeham's method of altering churches. A later and more elaborate development of his style is King's-college chapel, Cambridge (see page 257). Its chief features are upright and horizontal lines and square panelling in the stonework,



WILLIAM OF WYKEHAM.

instead of the flowing or geometrical tracery which marks the decorated style. Heavy external buttresses support stone roofs (from which hang elaborately carved stone pendants), thus relieving the weight from the light clustered pillars. The windows could be made much larger by Wykeham's method, and therefore the art of glass painting, then in its glory, could be encouraged to a much larger extent than formerly. As a politician William of Wykeham took the opposite side to John of Gaunt and John Wycliffe, and was singled out for degradation when the Lancastrian faction ruled. But after the accession of Richard II. he was again received into court favour. William of Wykeham will be remembered in coming generations



HOLY CROSS CHURCH, NEAR WINCHESTER.

as having saved the hospital of St. Cross from ruin, and as the promoter of our great public schools; besides being the originator of an architectural fashion. He founded and richly endowed a large collegiate school at Winchester for the

training of scholars in the rudiments of a liberal education, and established on a similar plan what is now known as "New-college," at Oxford, where students of Winchester might be advanced in higher branches of knowledge. The plan worked so well that other patrons of learning soon followed his example, and that is how our country became possessed of its great public schools associated with colleges at the universities. Eton-college for boys, and King's college, Cambridge, with which it is connected, were both promoted by Henry VI. on the model of Wykeham's foundations. Some of the first scholars who were educated in those establishments were destined to overthrow the ecclesiastical abuses against which Wycliffe had contended.

CHAPTER XVI. (A.D. 1384–1509)

THE ADVENT OF THE TUDORS

“As thou these ashes, little brook! wilt bear
Into the Avon, Avon to the tide
Of Severn, Severn to the narrow seas,
Into main ocean they, this deed accurst
An emblem yields to friends and enemies
How the bold teacher's doctrine, sanctified
By truth, shall spread throughout the world dispersed.”

1. The wars with France.—From about A.D. 1338 to 1453 there were constantly recurring wars with France. Our kings still ruled over certain continental provinces, which the French were constantly endeavouring to annex, and in the preservation of which the honour of the realm was involved; while the staple trade of the country was threatened by the desire of France to rule over certain Flemish towns which bought our wool and made our cloth. In order to meet his enemies on equal terms, Edward III. claimed to be the rightful king of France, and his descendants continued to style themselves so until the title was relinquished by George III. The English victories at Crecy and Poitiers produced a temporary peace, but hostilities were renewed by Henry V. His campaign was distinguished by the *Battle of Azincourt* (October 25, 1415), which was won by the English against tremendous odds, through the brilliant conduct of the archers; who showered their arrows among the French cavalry

while the latter were hampered by the soft ground caused by heavy rain the night before. The English followed up this success by making themselves masters of the greater part of France. Subsequently the French regained several provinces through the religious enthusiasm of *Jeanne d'Arc*, a peasant



BATTLE OF AZINCOURT.

maid of Lorraine. This girl, through treachery, was taken prisoner by the English and burnt as a witch in the market-place of Rouen (May 30, 1431). From that time the English lost ground in France. In the reigns of Henry VIII. and his children several attempts were made to regain it, but the last French possession, Calais, was lost in A.D. 1558. The English archbishop, Chichele, took a deep interest in the earlier wars, and urged the king to persevere in them. No doubt the prowess of England's soldiers made foreign nations, including the papal states, fear to treat our country with impunity; but any advantage so derived was lost when the fortunes of war were reversed. Yet the loss of our French acquisitions was an indirect benefit, because it made men content to put home affairs in order.

2. Social conditions of the fifteenth century.—By the close of the fourteenth century relations between various classes had become greatly changed. The Norman conquest had introduced the feudal system, by which for a time the conquered people fell into an inferior position under the barons; but they gradually recovered their rights, until the commercial policy of Edward III., and his schemes for developing the resources of the realm, created a *middle class* of persons who were chiefly engaged in manufactures, trades, and foreign commerce. For that new class and their dependants special acts of parliament were passed directing how each grade should dress and what they should eat. Such outward distinctions proclaiming the rank and estate of each inhabitant, soon gave rise to the feeling expressed

by John Ball in the couplet:—

“When Adam delved and Eve span
Who was then the gentleman?”



AN ARMOURER.

The members of each class then began to combine for mutual protection, and thus the leading companies of merchants became incorporated, and various handicraft guilds founded; which, by their representative character, soon took a leading part in the direction of affairs. The warlike character of that age increased the wealth of

smiths, armourers, and kindred crafts; and the numerous apprentices and workmen engaged in such trades assumed all the importance that

earning good wages invariably brings. So wealthy were some of the merchant companies that kings frequently accepted their hospitality, and even borrowed money from them, sometimes on the security of their crown jewels. The growth of middle classes necessitated a re-adjustment of relationships between the various estates ; and a consequent loss of power on the part of the nobility. That did not take place all at once, nor until the nobility and the *villeins* had settled their differences. The villeins were what we should now call yeomen, small landed proprietors and petty tenants, who, in place of rent, had to render a certain proportion of labour to the great feudal landlords. During the periods of truce that alternated with campaigns in France the landlords imposed fresh hardships on their tenants and labourers ; and when the latter resisted they caused new laws to be passed in parliament of a repressive character. That was one cause of the rebellions led by Wat Tyler and Jack Cade. Richard II. promised those who took part in the first rebellion that, if they would disperse peaceably, the condition of serfdom should be done away with, and agricultural labour paid for according to its market value. The social status of the middle classes had been gradually improving ever since the commons were allowed representatives in parliament ; but as labouring men were not allowed to vote in the election of the people's representatives, they adopted what they thought the best way of airing their grievances, viz. a public demonstration of ill-armed and undrilled mobs ; which wantonly destroyed the possessions of the wealthy until disciplined forces caused them to disperse. Some restrictions were placed upon the power of the kings also ; as when, in the year 1404, it was agreed that they should govern by the advice of a privy council, comprising six bishops, nine barons, and seven commoners.



RICHARD II.

3. Wycliffe and the Lollards.—The general principles by which the levelling of all ranks was carried out were closely identified with *Lollardism*, a movement said to have originated through Wycliffe's teaching, and which was quite as much political as religious. It would be idle to ignore the fact that all through the fifteenth century Wycliffe's teaching was held to be directly connected with the social revolutions. It is not easy to form a complete estimate of Wycliffe's opinions, because many of his writings remain unpublished. But so far as we can judge he seems to have taught that property has duties as well as rights; that unfaithful clergy ought to be prevented from enjoying the revenues of the Church; and that the government should enforce the principle. Such an idea mightily pleased the nobles, who were glad of a pretext for confiscating Church property. Hence the enmity against Wycliffe on the part of the wealthier ecclesiastics. From other writings of Wycliffe it is clear that he did not intend to preach doctrines of revolution and confiscation; but rather to explain, in the scholastic terms of his day, that clergy have a duty towards the laity, the due performance of which laymen have a right to demand. That doctrine had been spread far and wide by Wycliffe's "poor preachers." When the peasantry understood the force of the new teaching, they applied it to their own circumstances by proclaiming that landlords had duties to perform towards the poor; and that, unless the nobles tried to ameliorate the condition of their dependants, their wealth also ought to be confiscated. When the nobility found that Wycliffe's teaching, which they had espoused in order to limit the power of the ecclesiastics, could be turned against themselves, they joined in the chorus of disapprobation that had come from the prelates and celibate orders; and assented in parliament to laws proposed against the *Lollards*, as Wycliffe's followers were sometimes called. But lollardism as a religious movement should be distinguished from political lollardism which Wycliffe would have been the first to discountenance. An appeal to the Scriptures was his chief policy. Any doctrine or rule of life not taught therein was discountenanced by him. Over and over again he taught the duty of obedience to the higher powers, even though the rulers were evil men. But while Wycliffe and his "poor priests" must be dissociated from the revolutionary movements as such, it must be admitted that his chief adherents were to be found among the discontented politicians; and that the religious principles

of the lollards (among whom were some earnest men of rank and high moral character) included many tenets which were and are indefensible, as for instance :—their repudiation of episcopacy, their idea that the unworthiness of ministers invalidated their official acts, and their objections to capital punishment and justifiable homicide in times of war. The lollard movements flourished with varying fortunes all through the fifteenth century, but the chief points of its history can be briefly disposed of. In the year 1395 they petitioned parliament to aid them in *reforming the Church*. Their petition contained a catalogue of their reasons, from which we learn that their most notable doctrinal and disciplinary opinions were :—

A denial of transubstantiation.

Objection to celibacy among the clergy and religious orders.

The condemnation of clergy who held temporal offices.

Repudiation of image worship as idolatrous, and

The non-necessity of auricular confession.

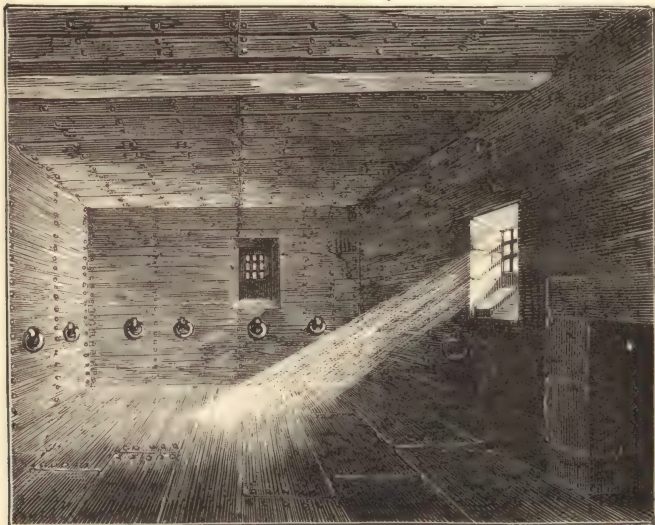
This petition exposed them to the wrath of the higher clergy, who now consisted chiefly of men nominated by the papacy, which had

made those controverted doctrines essential matters of belief. Accordingly, in January 1401, the lollards were condemned by convocation ; and parliament was persuaded to pass the persecuting statute *De Heretico Comburendo*, by which the civil authority became the executioner of those whom the prelates condemned.



CASTLE OF POPES, AVIGNON (*see page 234*).

In February 1401, *William Sawtry*, a rector in the city of London, was declared heretical by convocation, degraded from his office, handed over to the secular arm, and burnt at Smithfield. He was the first person to suffer death in this country respecting matters of faith since the days of the Emperor Diocletian. It was a deeply-laid plan on the part of the Romanizing clergy to associate their religious opponents with disturbers of the public peace; otherwise they could not have procured the passing of so cruel an act, by which the statute-book was



THE LOLLARD PRISON, LAMBETH PALACE.

disfigured for more than 250 years. For a time the burning of Sawtry frightened the lollards; but in 1409 convocation¹ found it necessary to forbid the reading of Wycliffe's writings or translations of the Scriptures. In spite of such repressive measures the new opinions spread; and even parliament made use of them freely, in directions which their author would have been the first to condemn. In 1404, and again

¹ *Convocation* is the legislative assembly of the Church, as parliament is for the civil authority, and even in the most despotic times no change was made in Church doctrines or discipline without its prior consent. (See also chap. xix., parag. 8.)

in 1410, the commons carried to extremes the dogma of Wycliffe which taught that the civil power ought to see Church revenues rightly and worthily dispensed ; for on the plea of present misappropriation they boldly proposed to confiscate the whole of Church property for the support of the king's military enterprises. The commons also accepted in spirit the lollard notion that the clergy were too powerful, by seeking in every way to restrict their power. It had been the practice for the bishops to arrest in their own name, and confine in their own prisons, all persons whom they suspected of heresy ; and there is still an apartment in Lambeth palace in which the lollards were confined by the archbishops. The commons wished that such suspects should be arrested on the king's writ only, and confined nowhere but in the civil prisons. In these attempts the commons were not successful, and convocation redoubled its efforts to repress the lollards. In return for the interest taken by Archbishop Chichele in furthering the expeditions to France that obtained the victory of Azincourt, an act was passed (1414) by which all sheriffs and municipal officers were compelled to help the bishops to repress lollardism, by informing against and apprehending suspects ; whom they were to deliver up to the custody of the bishops' jailers. The first layman of note to suffer death for lollardy was *Sir John Oldcastle*, but his offence was chiefly political. He was first hanged for high treason and then burnt as an "heretic" (1417). We shall see presently how important the new opinions were considered in other countries. It is sufficient here to say that in spite of all attempts to suppress them in England, which appeared outwardly successful, they were still secretly cherished and propagated ; and that although every effort was made to destroy Wycliffe's books a number have been preserved in manuscript to the present time. In 1449 the commons made a further attempt to control clerical revenues by proposing to tax the clergy. Hitherto the clergy had determined of themselves, in convocation, how much they should contribute towards the public burdens (see page 221) ; instead of being taxed in the same way as laymen. The king referred that desire of parliament to the convocation, and the latter, while theoretically retaining its ancient privilege of contributing voluntarily towards the king's necessities, agreed to follow the example of parliament in the *proportion* of their grants ; and that practice continued until 1664,¹ since which date the clergy have been taxed like other people.

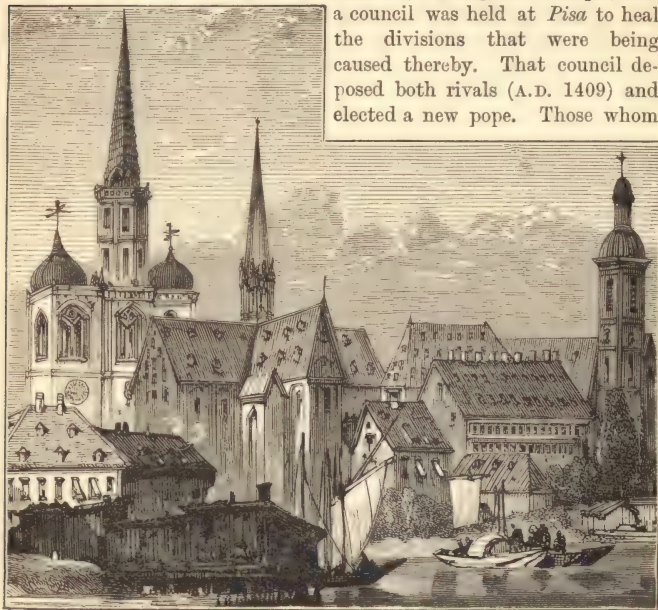
¹ See the Author's *Church and Realm in Stuart Times*, pp. 149, 287. E. Arnold. 3s. 6d.

4. Anti-papal statutes.—After the tenth century “Church” and “Realm” were convertible terms for the same community; and any attempt on the part of foreigners to interfere in either, was considered an infringement of national rights. To ignore the continued protests of English people against the usurped jurisdiction and doctrinal errors of the Church of Rome during the mediæval times, would be to parody the history of our country. It is true that England did not very vigorously resist papal encroachments after the reign of Edward III.; still every now and then acts appeared upon the statute-book which prove that the land was by no means prepared to surrender its ancient independence in religious affairs. The old statute of *Provisors* (see page 230), passed in 1351, had not been very strictly carried out; and it was found needful to pass a still more stringent act in 1390, to prevent the bishops of Rome nominating persons to fill English benefices when vacancies should arise. In the year 1393 the usurped jurisdiction of the pope was attacked still more effectively by a very strong defensive measure enforcing the earlier statutes of *Præmunire*. By that act all appellants to Rome, and all officials of the papal court who landed in this country, were rigorously punished and outlawed; their goods being confiscated to the state. Bishop Stubbs says that that statute is “the clue of the events that connect the *Constitutions of Clarendon* with the reformation.” Again, in 1399, when Richard II. was deposed, it was charged against him that he had asked the pope to confirm his acts; “whereas,” so parliament then declared, “the kingdom of England and the rights of its crown had always been so free that neither the pope nor any other outside the kingdom might interfere therein.” That is the key-note of all subsequent anti-papal legislation. In spite of those acts Pope Martin V. succeeded in placing thirteen of his own nominees in English bishoprics during the years 1417–18, and even appointed his nephew, a boy fourteen years old, to the archdeaconry of Canterbury. The evil grew so rapidly that an embassy was sent to Pope Martin V. to make him acquainted with English law; whereupon the pope commanded the archbishops of Canterbury and York that they should disregard the famous statutes referred to. *Henry Chichele* was then archbishop of Canterbury, and he simply excused himself on the ground that no other English bishop would allow foreigners to be promoted. Indeed, there was a special statute (I Hen. V., c. 7) forbidding foreigners to accept English benefices. Pope Martin V. rejoined with a long series of threats if Chichele would not try to

procure the abolition of the statutes. He wrote in a similar strain to the king and parliament, demanding the repeal of the statute of *Præmunire*. But the statutes remained untouched all through the reign of Henry V. Some years later, and during the minority of Henry VI., Pope Martin again endeavoured to procure their repeal. This time he so terrorized the English prelates that they went in a body to parliament, and asked that his request might be granted. But the commons retorted by a petition to the crown that English ecclesiastical liberty might be maintained against the encroachments of the pope. Angered exceedingly by such resistance, Martin V. proceeded to more extreme measures. He issued bulls suspending Archbishop Chichele and excommunicating all the English bishops. This high-handed proceeding was promptly withstood. As soon as the documents arrived in England they were seized by the lord protector and destroyed unopened; and Archbishop Chichele appealed to a general council of the whole Church against the pope's action. That occurred in 1426. Martin V. was succeeded by Eugenius IV., who, in 1438, proceeded to a still more unprecedented invasion of English Church liberties, by giving the bishopric of Ely to the archbishop of Rouen; that he might hold that see along with his French one without residing in England at all. As the prelates in convocation were unanimous in their indignant repudiation of that flagrant act, a compromise was effected; which did not, however, prevent the revenues of the see from being collected and sent out of the country to the archbishop of Rouen. So conscious was parliament of the importance to the country of royal supremacy that an attempt was made while Chichele was primate to bring the English ecclesiastical courts within the provision of the *Præmunire* statute; but he was able to preserve their independence by explaining to the satisfaction of the king that it was only the papal courts of appeal beyond the sea which were aimed at therein. That episode is useful as showing that the English archbishop (A.D. 1441) perfectly understood the traditions of his primacy. Mere occasional resistance to papal decrees would not in itself prove our national independence of Rome, any more than political agitation at any time against laws which are thought to be oppressive implies that the agitators have no part or membership with the nation. It is the character of the resistance that has to be considered; and the substance of all opposition to papal claims over England may be expressed in the single phrase:—"You have no jurisdiction here!"

5. The council of Constance.—Meanwhile certain events of importance had been taking place abroad, in which the English Church was more or less connected. We noticed, on page 234, how Wycliffe took occasion to expose the scandal of rival popes. That was felt to be a great danger to Christianity throughout Europe ; and

a council was held at *Pisa* to heal the divisions that were being caused thereby. That council deposed both rivals (A.D. 1409) and elected a new pope. Those whom



CONSTANCE CATHEDRAL.

the council had condemned declined to accept its decision by retiring ; so that three popes were in the field, each claiming absolute infallibility, who spent their time chiefly in excommunicating the adherents of the other two. Such a state of things was not likely to cause increased respect for papal claims in England. A more successful attempt to heal the schism was made at a later council held at *Constance* in the year 1414, which continued its sessions until 1418. It settled the dilemma by deposing all three rivals, and electing instead the above-mentioned Martin V. This council of Constance was convened in response to a

general desire throughout Europe that the Church of which the papacy was the acknowledged chief *should be reformed*, in head and members, by remedying abuses and condemning theological errors. Its deliberations help us to understand how widely the writings of Wycliffe had spread by that time. While Anne of Bohemia was queen of England several of her countrymen were educated at Oxford. Through them Wycliffe's books had been introduced to the *University of Prague*, where they were eagerly studied by two remarkable men, *Jerome* and *John Huss*, who, having accepted Wycliffe's opinions, preached them far and wide. Huss was the most popular preacher in Bohemia. He condemned unsparingly the false doctrines of his time, and ceased not to teach and preach against them. When it became known that his opinions were chiefly drawn from the condemned writings of Wycliffe, his enemies among the Bohemian clergy caused him to be cited before the prelates assembled at Constance. After long discussions that council also condemned both Wycliffe and his writings; and having declared Huss to be heretical, delivered him over to the secular power to be burnt. That was in 1415, and in the following year Jerome of Prague was made to suffer in like manner. The council of Constance is notable also for its decree that popes are inferior and subject to general councils—hence the appeal of Archbishop Chichele mentioned above. That decree was confirmed by the *council of Basle* (A.D. 1431–49), which even went so far as to pronounce sentence of contumacy against Pope Eugenius IV., for not appearing in answer to its citation; and when that pontiff convoked a counter-assembly at *Florence* (1439) to maintain the ultramontane idea that popes are superior to councils, the prelates at Basle deposed him from the papacy and elected another in his room. It is quite clear, therefore, that England was not alone in its determination to resist papal aggrandizement. The above councils were fairly representative of western Christendom, but the eastern branch of the Church held aloof; and therefore they cannot have the authority belonging to general councils, rightly so called, which should properly represent the Church throughout the world. The English Church sent representatives to them, and on account of the decision arrived at by the council of Constance touching Wycliffe and his writings, a senseless act of undignified vengeance was done to his remains. In the year 1428, after he had been dead and buried forty-three years, Wycliffe's bones were taken from their grave and publicly burnt. The ashes were then thrown into the river Swift that

runs below the town of Lutterworth. The Swift flows into the Avon, thence to the Severn, and onwards to the sea ; and although the authors of this outrage supposed that they were annihilating both the man and his doctrines, they did but add to his renown. His admirers have ever since looked upon the distribution of his ashes as emblematic of his teaching ; which, in spite of modern efforts to minimize it, pointed out the way for subsequent reforms in the Church, both in



BRIDGE OVER THE SWIFT, LUTTERWORTH.

England and on the continent. The permanence of Wycliffe's teaching and influence during the fifteenth century has been abundantly proved. In 1476 Edward IV. ordered the university of Oxford to search for and burn all his books that could be found ; and yet *Leland*, who wrote 150 years after Wycliffe's death, declared that his writings were still studied throughout Germany and Britain, while a merchant named *Hunn* was charged in 1516 with all the "heresy" in Wycliffe's preface to his translation of the Bible, because a copy was found in his house.

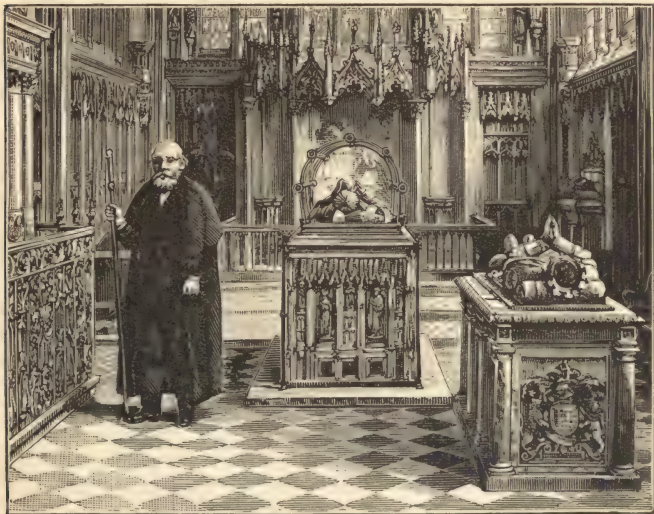
6. Doctrinal abuses.—One chief reason for which the lollards were declared heretical and burnt was their denial of the Romish doctrine of *Transubstantiation* (see page 153), for which there is no authority in Scripture nor in the practice of the primitive Church. No definite expression or decree can be found about it in the canons of the general councils; but after the Norman conquest several western synods and local councils assented to it, and by the fourteenth century it was very generally taught. Unless, therefore, the lollards were willing to believe a doctrine so unreasonable and repellent as that the elements of bread and wine no longer remained after their consecration in the Holy Eucharist, although they were plainly seen, the “heretic” was adjudged guilty of death. Bishop *Reginald Pecock*, by no means a friend to the lollards, was sufficiently in advance of his episcopal brethren to declare (1456) that “the clergy shall be condemned at the last day if *by clear wit* they draw not men into consent of true faith otherwise than by fire and sword and hangment.”¹ A further abuse of the time in respect of Holy Communion was that, having declared the whole Body of Christ, Flesh and Blood, to exist in the element of bread, communion in both kinds was declared unnecessary; and therefore the chalice was withheld from the laity. That practice did not become general in England until after a decree made by the council of Constance. Transubstantiation ‘overthrowest the nature of a sacrament’ by ignoring its outward and visible signs. The fifteenth century “was an unquiet, unintellectual age, and men had been content to accept with undoubting faith theories which were put before them under the reputed sanction of authorities whom they had been taught to reverence, without inquiring whether the authority itself was really trustworthy, or whether the claim to authority could be proved.” (*Blunt*.) Erroneous ideas had also grown up respecting the condition of the departed through exaggerations of the primitive belief in the progressive amelioration of souls *after death*. The mediævalists ventured to dogmatize on what was previously felt to be very uncertain; and declared authoritatively that the purification of departed souls was through a material fire. That is the doctrine called *Purgatory*. The avarice of many clergy led them to describe in horrifying terms, and

¹ A curious instance of the confused opinions of the English episcopate is seen in the fact that the temperate statements of Pecock caused him to be deposed by his fellow bishops from his see of Chichester; and when he appealed successfully to the bishop of Rome for re-instatement, the other English prelates, themselves nominated by the popes, prosecuted him under the statute of *Provisors*!

paint in vivid frescoes on church walls, the torments of lost souls ; and then declare that by paying for the chanting of a given number of *masses*,¹ living friends might lessen or end the sufferings of departed loved ones, no matter how sinful they had been. We cannot travel through England to view the ancient churches, without remarking the very large number of *chantry chapels* that came into existence in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Chantries were usually small portions of churches in which wealthy people had set up and endowed *additional* altars, at which masses in propitiation for the sins of the departed were sung, independently of the ordinary Eucharist celebrated by the parish priest at the high altar. Sometimes the tomb of the dead person placed within the church formed the altar, but a separate aisle and transept, or an eastern chapel, was often added to an existing church for this purpose, which would be named after the donor, or his favourite saint. Hence the number of family chapels, filled with ancestral monuments, like the *Beauchamp chantry* on the next page, that we so often meet with in old churches. In the early Church it was customary for the Holy Communion to form part of the service for the burial of the dead, in order that the mourners might express their belief in the communion of saints, living or departed. The mediæval error consisted in changing what was intended to comfort and benefit the living into a propitiatory sacrifice for the dead ; wherein the living took no part beyond paying for the service. There is reason to suppose that many parochial clergy who had been impoverished through the alienation of tithes to the monasteries, availed themselves of the additional means of livelihood thus opened out to them ; for those who died in the fifteenth century wars often left benefactions for the purpose. Closely connected with the exaggerated priestly power involved in the asserted efficacy of masses for the dead, was the travesty made of the doctrine of absolution. From the beginning it had been the faith of the Church that God "hath given power and commandment to His ministers, to declare and pronounce to His people, *being penitent*, the absolution and remission of their sins ;" but popes through the clergy, since the time of the crusades, had granted *Indulgences* to such as

¹ The word mass as applied to the service of Holy Communion is derived from a Latin word *missa* ("Ite, missa est") used at a particular point in the service in dismissing the probationers who were not allowed to communicate ; and the book containing the form of service, for the same reason, is called the *Missal*. The term "mass" has been wisely discontinued by the Church since its repudiation of the abuses of mediævalists. The Greek equivalent "*Liturgy*" is far preferable.

could afford them ; by which, on payment of money or taking part in papal enterprises, the outward signs of Christian penitence were excused. In the early days of Christianity, if a repentant sinner desired absolution the Church required him to *prove his penitence* by making restitution for his sin where possible, and by undergoing some personal mortification, known as 'penance.' By the novel idea of indulgences he could purchase remission of his penance, and be set free from all its inconveniences. That unholy traffic increased to such a degree that full pardon could be purchased, even for sins that were intended to be



BEAUCHAMP CHANTRY, ST. MARY'S, WARWICK.

committed, as well as for the foulest crimes already done ; and in order that clergy should reap full benefit from that novel source of gain, confession of sin to a priest was declared to be compulsory for all at stated periods. Such a parody of religion could not fail to excite indignation and distrust ; and cry aloud for reformation. The impious trade in indulgences reached its height during the papacy of Alexander VI. and Leo X., who caused them to be publicly sold at fixed rates all over Europe, to raise funds for building St. Peter's church in Rome.

7. Alien priories.—Although the civil government could not take cognizance of any purely spiritual questions, there were a number of constitutional abuses in the old monastic system which violated the law, and so properly came within the jurisdiction of the king. The *alien priories* are a case in point. A priory was usually a religious house dependent upon one of the greater abbeys; although there were some independent religious houses of which the chief was called a prior or prioress. The “alien priories” were dependent upon *foreign* monasteries. They grew up as the result of the Norman conquest, when the



ETON COLLEGE, NEAR WINDSOR.

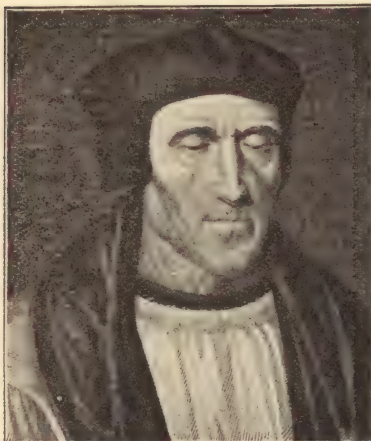
new nobility, desiring to benefit French or Norman abbeys in which they were interested, made over to them English estates, and the revenues of churches in their patronage. Many of the pre-Norman churches consequently lost their property, and much English money was regularly sent abroad without any return being made; for the foreign abbeys made no provision for the district which benefited them save placing a few dependent monks on the property to look after the estate and remit the profits. When the French wars were in progress, the enormity of the system became more than ever apparent, because the revenues

of English priories were enriching a nation with which our country was at war. Therefore, when the commons desired to confiscate the property of the English clergy, Archbishop Chichele suggested instead that the alien priories should be suppressed. Several had been seized by Edward III., which formed a precedent, and the rest were dissolved by act of parliament in 1414 and their revenues granted to the king. It would have been impolitic to entirely alienate their possessions from religious purposes, and therefore, about A.D. 1440, Henry VI. founded Eton college for boys and King's-college at Cambridge, his queen at the same time giving her name to Queen's-college in the same university. The rapid increase in the number of educational foundations during

the fifteenth century was due to a growing demand for knowledge. Men were beginning to understand that "the pen is mightier than the sword," and that it would not do for laymen to ignore the advantages of education. Archbishop Chichele himself founded a college at Oxford, A.D. 1437, calling it *All Souls*, to commemorate those who had been killed in the French wars; and *Bishop Waynflete* of Winchester founded *Magdalen*, Oxford, twenty-one years later. These episcopal foundations were supported chiefly from the revenues of monasteries within the jurisdiction of those prelates; which they



KING'S-COLLEGE CHAPEL, CAMBRIDGE.



BISHOP FOX.

had suppressed. As the celibate system was no longer popular, through the indiscretions of its members, benevolent persons who might otherwise have built monasteries expended their charity in founding chantries, schools, and colleges. At the beginning of the sixteenth century *Bishop Fox* of Winchester desired to found a monastery, but was dissuaded from the idea by *Bishop Oldham* of Exeter, on the ground that conventual establishments had ceased to be good and useful, and must soon pass away. Those two bishops founded instead *Corpus Christi college*, Oxford.

8. The printing-press.—Closely connected with the subject of education was the *invention of printing*. No event of any century has wrought such deep and lasting influence on our national history, or done more to dispel the ignorance upon which erroneous teachers traded. Thenceforth the laborious work of multiplying copies of any book by hand was at an end, to say nothing of the vast difference in cost. A single sheet of parchment or vellum written out in the old black-letter style of the fourteenth century would be worth about two shillings at the present value of money, while a complete copy of Wycliffe's Bible would cost at least £40. But the substitution of paper for skins in 1350, succeeded by the invention of printing, changed all that. The new art was commenced in Germany by a man named *Gutenberg* (A.D. 1440). Wooden blocks came into use two years after, and types cut from metal in 1444. The roller printing-press did not come into use till 1450; nor was the invention brought to England for many years after. A native of Kent named William Caxton had learnt the trade in Holland, whence he proceeded to Ghent and there translated and published the *History of Troy*, which was the first book printed in the English tongue (1471). He came to England two years

after and set up a press in the almonry at Westminster. The first book printed on English ground was the *Game and Playe of Chesse*. Most of Caxton's books were translated from French, and were in "black-letter" type, *i. e.* "old English" characters. By that time the Anglo-Saxon tongue had been considerably modified, and the "old English" in which Wycliffe and Chaucer wrote replaced by what is known as the "*middle English*," which lasted another hundred years. The use of Norman-French in parliament and the law-courts gave place to the



CAXTON IN THE ALMONRY, WESTMINSTER.

vernacular in the time of Edward III., and English had been taught in the schools ever since. Too much stress has been laid on the late appearance of Bibles and books of devotion in English; because the demand did not very long precede the supply. Printing-presses were set up in Oxford in 1503, after which the trade became important and lucrative. The earliest books had no title-pages, and no capital letters; nor were the useful comma (,) or semi-colon (;) introduced. Words were often spelt phonetically, and sometimes the same word was spelt

in different ways on a single page. The reign of Richard III., in many respects execrable, is remarkable for a statute which, while restricting other branches of foreign trade, expressly exempted written and printed



RICHARD III.

books; and for the further fact that acts of parliament were then printed for the first time. So rapidly did books multiply after this that within 100 years from Caxton's time no less than 10,000 distinct works had been issued from the press by some 350 printers; which were circulated throughout the land. Hence we know a great deal about what has happened in our country after the fifteenth century, and of the political and theological discussions which occupied men's minds. For the same reason it is difficult to make selections for a book like this from the innumerable important events recorded, without

leaving as many equally important ones unnoticed. The chief object of the following chapters will therefore be to select incidents which fairly summarize leading occurrences.

9. The wars of York and Lancaster.—We must not overlook the importance of the internecine strife between the great English nobles, that produced such fatal revolutions during the fifteenth century. The deposition of Richard II. in 1399 and the coronation of Henry IV. in his stead may be looked upon as the beginning of the struggle; for in 1402 a bold attempt was made by the Percies, of Northumberland, to reseat Richard on the throne. A great battle was fought near Shrewsbury in furtherance of their plans, at which the famous "*Hotspur*" lost his life, and the Lancastrians, who upheld King Henry IV., won the day. As an act of thanksgiving the victors erected a church on the site of the struggle which has ever since been called *Battlefield church*. Wars with France kept the jealous rivals from actual hostilities for the next fifty years; but they kept struggling for such lucrative positions as the government of England could provide. After the French provinces were surrendered the enmity of the nobles again became openly violent. *Richard, duke of York*, heir-presumptive to the throne until the birth

of an heir to Henry VI., had been made lord protector during the temporary insanity of that king, but when the latter recovered he was deprived of his office and replaced by his rival *Somersct*. The disgraced duke at once appealed to arms ; and the battles that ensued between the rival factions are known as the *Wars of the Roses*. The badges worn by each side caused them to be so called. The tradition recorded by Shakespear (Hen. VI., part I. act



BATTLEFIELD CHURCH, SHREWSBURY.

ii. sc. 4) accounts for the choice of a *red rose* by the Lancastrians, and a *white rose* by the Yorkists. The first battle was at St. Albans, A.D. 1455. Sometimes the Yorkists won and sometimes the house of Lancaster. At Wakefield (1460) the duke of York was killed ; but his son Edward continued the struggle, and became king in 1461. For twenty-two years the house of York continued to hold the throne, but not without much bloodshed. In 1485 the last great battle was fought between the parties at *Bosworth field*, when several nobles deserted Richard III. and victory once more fell to the "red rose." *Henry, earl of Richmond*, grandson of *Owen Tudor* (whose mother's grandfather was a grandson of Edward III.), was the principal survivor of the Lancastrian family, and his victorious army crowned him as king by the title of *Henry VII.* ; thus introducing the "Tudor dynasty." By Henry's marriage with *Elizabeth of York*, daughter of Edward IV., the fortunes of the rival houses were united and the fratricidal strife concluded ; but not before they had impoverished the land, destroyed the flower of English youth, and almost stamped out the old nobility. When the noblemen assembled after the battle of Bosworth there were found to be only twenty-nine lay barons alive.

Religious life could not have free course while such faction fights were general, and therefore we do not wonder that the history of the Church in the latter half of the century was one of humiliating degeneracy. Also we must consider that the remembrance of the struggle had much to do with the very small value set upon human life in succeeding generations. The wars of the roses brought the feudal baronage to an end, and made the kings so far beyond all other noblemen in power that for some time to come their rule was absolute and despotic. Henry's title to the crown was somewhat defective, but he strengthened his personal position by allowing popes of Rome to rule the English Church.



HENRY THE SEVENTH.

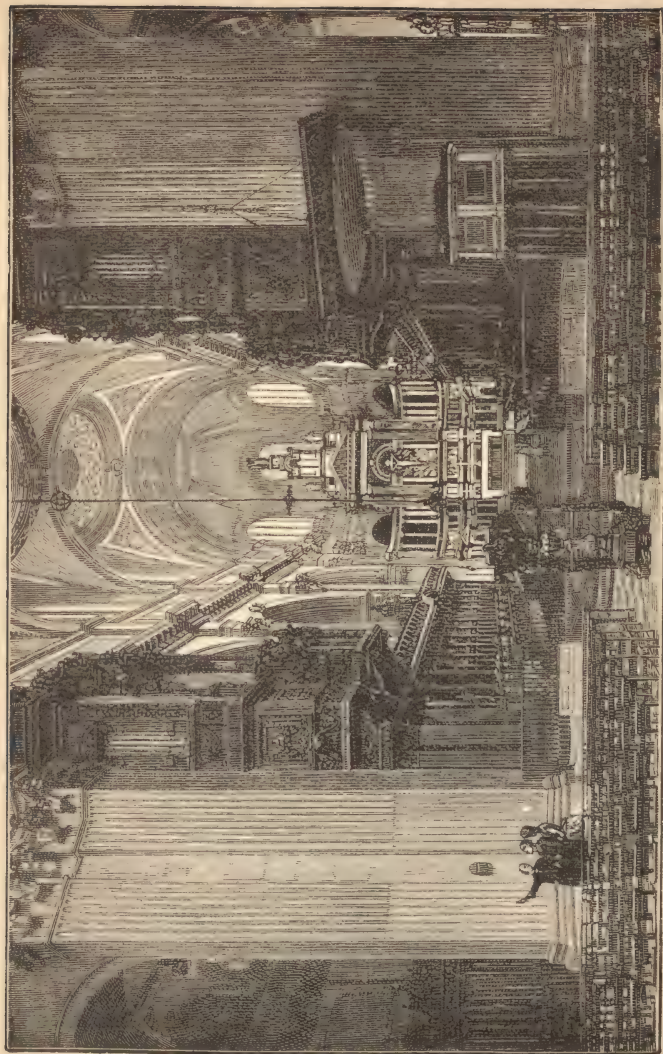
10. Increasing need for Church reform.—Henry VII. had a fairly prosperous and peaceful reign, during which the country was restored to a measure of its former prosperity. The people began again to consider ecclesiastical affairs, and the way was steadily being shaped for the final struggle against papal jurisdiction that was bound to come. The culminating point of foreign usurpation occurred when *Cardinal Kemp* was appointed by papal provision to the see of Canterbury, and then made extraordinary legate of the pope (see page 178). That triple position (cardinal, primate, and papal legate) was accorded also to Kemp's successors, Bouchier and Morton. Under their rule, which extended over half-a-century, 1452-1502, the national character of the English Church became almost extinct; until it seemed to be a mere appanage of the papacy. During that time the papal chair was filled by men of scandalous and immoral lives; whose avarice led them to degrade the Church and her sacraments in return for money payments to their agents and collectors. With such superiors it is not surprising that the clergy of that day were not distinguished for integrity and virtue. In England the majority of the bishops and

abbots were conspicuous for high character and scholarship ; but the moral tone and intelligence of the inferior clergy will not bear examination. We have explained previously that the mediæval clergy were divided into three groups :—the *seculars*, or parish priests ; the *regulars*, belonging to the old monasteries ; and the *mendicant friars*. These three sections lived in open and notorious rivalry, and kept up a sort of triangular duel which alone threatened to break up the Church. Among the seculars are to be reckoned the chantry priests, who were often employed to fill undignified positions in the families for whose dead relatives they chanted mass. Altogether the clergy of the time did not inspire the laity with any great amount of respect. The Church courts also, which took cognizance of all offences against the moral law, sold their judgments by accepting pecuniary fines, thus becoming “centres of corruption, which archbishops, legates, and councils tried to reform and failed, acquiescing in the failure rather than allow the intrusion of the secular power” (*Stubbs*). While earnest minds in England were exercised with such things, others abroad were no less so. Among them stands pre-eminent the great Florentine reformer, *Savonarola*, who unsparingly denounced abuses and demanded Church reform. For five years (1490–95) he wielded unbounded influence over the people of Florence by patriotic Christian zeal, regardless alike of threats and bribes from the popes. But his zeal became fanatical and destructive, and then his influence waned. Alexander VI. caused him to be strangled and burnt in 1498. Another fifteenth century abuse was the growing custom of pilgrimages to the shrines of saints by the well-to-do—such as the shrine of St. Thomas at Canterbury, the shrine of St. Mary at Walsingham, and the rood (crucifix) at the north door of St. Paul’s cathedral—and the adoration of images by the ignorant poor. The lollards had rightly declared those practices to be idolatrous. Educated persons might be able to distinguish between obeisance made before such shrines and the still greater reverence due to God “working in and by the image” ; as did Bishop Pecock when he wrote against the lollards that “no man taketh for his God and worshippeth . . . any image now in Christendom after that the man is come to years of discretion, and is past childhood, and is not a natural fool” ; but the want of education among the poor made them incapable of dissociating their outward reverence to a crucifix from the higher worship due to the Being it represented, and there

was the greatest danger that similar homage rendered to pictures and statues of the blessed virgin Mary, or to the relics and shrines of saints (who were wrongly supposed to take personal cognizance, and mediate on behalf of individual petitioners outside their sphere), would obscure the doctrine of the One Mediator between God and man.

11. Summary.—We have now recorded sufficient information respecting the Celtic, Anglo-Saxon, and mediæval epochs of the Church in Britain to enable us to draw this volume to a conclusion. The object of the third part has been to show the gradual encroachments of the Roman see upon the English national Church, and the objections and protestations made on the part of Englishmen against such aggrandizement. The popular feeling that had arisen against all foreigners continued to grow, until the national parliament agreed to pass a statute declaring once and for all that the usurped jurisdiction of the papacy over the English Church and Realm had always been illegal and could no longer be tolerated. The inevitable rising of the people against their involuntary bondage to a foreign domination was delayed by reason of the wars with France and the subsequent wars of the roses; but the quieter times of the Tudor prince, Henry VII., served to bring Englishmen to a sense of their national importance and the degradation of their subjection to an alien potentate. So that when they threw off the papal yoke they must not be considered to have lost their true government, but to have regained it. For the same reason, the English Church, which was the nation organized for spiritual purposes, did not lose its identity by repudiating the pope's supremacy, but was restored thereby to its original independent position, as a national branch of the Church universal; relying only upon its apostolic origin and the purity of its faith, as it had done in the days before the Norman conquest, when as yet popes had not asserted a claim to jurisdiction all over Christendom.





INTERIOR OF ST. PAUL'S CATHEDRAL, LONDON (see pages 438 and 476).

Illustrated Notes on English Church History

VOL. II
THE REFORMATION
AND
MODERN CHURCH WORK

BY THE
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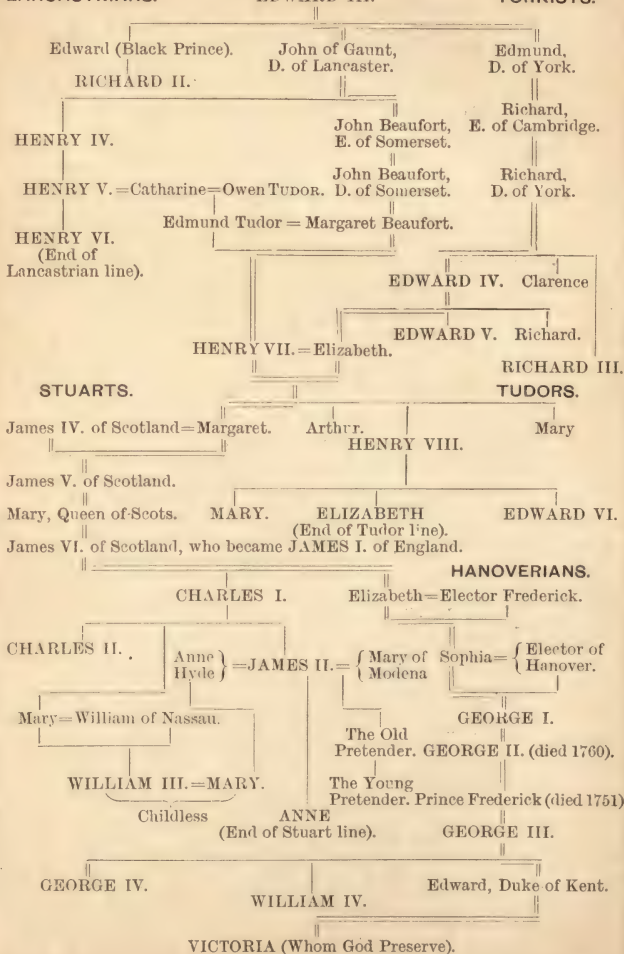
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EDWARD III.

YORKISTS.



ILLUSTRATED NOTES ON ENGLISH CHURCH HISTORY

PART IV

The Era of Patriotism

CHAPTER XVII. (A.D. 1509–1547)

HENRY VIII. AND HIS CHANCELLORS

“Henceforward, with the sovereignty transferred
Unto itself, the crown assumes a voice
Of reckless mastery hitherto unknown.”

1. Introductory.—The following pages are intended to be read in connection with the companion volume under the same general title, which dealt with the chief facts of Church history in our country up to the time of Henry VII. The 400 years treated of herein comprise the “*Reformation and Modern Work*” of the very same ecclesiastical society whose sources, consolidation, and oppression are there dwelt upon. Under the term “REFORMATION” we ought to include a vast number of adaptations and necessary changes made in the English Church during some 300 years—from the time of Wycliffe until the revolution of 1688—some of greater, others of less importance; none of them complete in themselves, or such as altered the ancient character and organisation of that Church; but which, when judged of by their results as a whole—as a means of comparing the Church of modern with that of mediæval Britain—have made some people think that the present Church of England is a different Church to that of the olden time. But in none of those 300 years, nor in any specific reign, was the old Church so altered in constitution or teaching as to destroy its identity; or warrant the theory that a new Church was founded, at some comparatively recent date, by reason of certain specific acts. Not only were the changes made of a very gradual character—though more rapidly successive at some times than at others—but the changes were brought about from within the Church by her recognised representatives; and amid all she has been able to preserve unimpaired a continuous fellowship of ministry and

doctrine with the Church of apostolic times. The word "reformation" has sometimes been made use of to include contemporary changes on the continent that resulted in the formation of numerous "protestant" communities ; most of which repudiate the merit of continuance. But so far as English history is concerned, the word is more generally restricted to the changes brought about in our civil and religious constitutions under Henry VIII. and his children. The space at disposal and the extensive nature of the subject demand the restriction of these "Notes" to events belonging to our own nation only ; so that "foreign affairs" will not be referred to unless they have a direct bearing on English Church history. The main object before us is to demonstrate the national, or patriotic, character of the Church ; but we shall frequently have to allude also to matters of faith and practice which were bound up with the controversies between the parties and individuals to whom the changes and events are due. Our last chapter dealt with the fifteenth century, during which the religious, social, and political forces of the nation were being fitted for the great and important changes that followed ; and during which the relations between different classes among the people were also being re-adjusted for the benefit of the poorer sort. Such circumstances have an indirect bearing on the question before us, because they affected the natural development of religious questions. The chroniclers of that era were so busied with the temporal struggles in which England was involved that they had no inclination to study spiritual problems. What they do tell us amounts to this :—that many abuses had crept into the Church's system ; into her doctrines, discipline, and the lives of clergy ; and that a great cry went up from all sections of the people that her house should be swept and garnished.

Those were the general conditions of the Church and society at the time when Henry VII. was buried in the beautiful chantry chapel he caused to be added to the eastern part of Westminster-abbey ; and his second son succeeded to the throne as Henry VIII., A.D. 1509.

2. The Oxford reformers.—The archbishop of Canterbury during the latter part of the reign of Henry VII. was *William Warham*. He occupied the position for thirty years from 1503. During his primacy Oxford university came to be the centre of a remarkable revival of ancient literature, which greatly assisted decisions upon ecclesiastical affairs that demanded reform. It had begun in Italy by researches among pagan classics, but they soon

gave place among the religiously inclined to studies in the original works of early Latin fathers of the Church; and after the fall of Constantinople in 1453, which drove many Greek scholars westward, in the writings of the Greek Christian fathers also. It then became an accepted axiom that education without Greek was worthless; and just as Wycliffe's writings had been carried from Oxford to Prague, so the *New Learning*, as it was called, was transplanted from its cradle in Italy to another home at Oxford. Warham was a great patron of the movement, and he was ably seconded by *Thomas Wolsey*, then dean of Lincoln and royal almoner, who took delight in seeking

out promising youths and sending them to Oxford for instruction. Among them was *Thomas More*, an earnest, witty, and lovable young man who had been Wolsey's page. At Oxford, More was brought under the influence of *John Colet*, son of a lord mayor of London, who at the time was giving far-famed lectures on the Greek epistles of St. Paul. He also met several of Colet's friends at the university, and among them was the famous *Thomas Linacre*, who afterwards founded the Royal Col-



ARCHBISHOP WARHAM.

lege of Physicians, and *Grocyn* who taught Greek. They gave their best efforts to the study of the Greek Testament, and were joined by a poor scholar known as *Erasmus*, who became a very learned man. Colet was firmly convinced of the need for Church reform, and loudly declaimed against ecclesiastical scandals. "Keep to the Bible and the Apostles' Creed," he used to say to his scholars, "and let divines, if they like, dispute about the rest." From that time the watchword of Church reformers in England was "Scripture and the primitive fathers" *versus* mediæval tradition. Colet was presently made dean of St. Paul's,

More became a barrister and entered parliament, and Erasmus went abroad to study. The friends afterwards formed a literary circle in London, and were joined by others of like mind. When Henry VIII. ascended the throne, the little band of scholars was received into high favour at court. Erasmus then became professor of Greek at Cambridge, and Colet preached "reform" from the pulpit of St. Paul's. The friends made up their minds to place the "new learning" on a firm basis and provide for its continuance. Colet's father had died and left him very wealthy, but he devoted his whole fortune to the foundation of a grammar-school close to his cathedral, where boys might be instructed in classical Latin and Greek, instead of the bad



SIR THOMAS MORE.

Latin of the mediæval schoolmen. Linacre and Erasmus wrote the school books, and Colet a simple Latin primer. Those were the beginnings of *St. Paul's-school* which flourished in St. Paul's churchyard until it was removed to the west of London in 1885. It caused a great stir in the world of letters, and Thomas More prophesied that it would be like the wooden horse filled with armed Greeks for the destruction of barbarian Troy. When convocation assembled on Feb. 6, 1512, Dean Colet preached a sermon to the assembled members, than which

no more outspoken denunciation of existing evils in the Church was ever delivered. Some of the bishops were so offended at his severe tirade against the clergy, that they tried to accuse him of heresy; but Archbishop Warham vetoed the charge. And when Colet lifted up his voice against the unnecessary wars with France, his enemies tried in vain to incense the young king against him. So the cause prospered. The fame of the scholars spread throughout Europe and they rose to higher positions of influence. Erasmus became a councillor of the emperor of Germany, and More accepted a lucrative post at Henry's court.

Both published books explanatory of their political principles, Erasmus setting forth the duties of a monarch in his *Christian Prince*; and More his notions of an ideal state in the famous *Utopia* (nowhere). The keynote of both books was that governments and nations exist for the good of the whole people. More's *Utopia* specially advocated religious toleration, but strongly discountenanced schism. It pictured all sorts of people, with different creeds, "worshipping together in one united and simple mode of worship, expressly so arranged as to hurt the feelings of no sect among them; so that they all might join in it as an expression of their common brotherhood in the sight of God." Yet its author subsequently sat as judge over many unfortunate creatures who conscientiously differed in religion from himself! But the greatest work of that time was the publication (1516) of the Greek Testament, with a new Latin translation, in parallel columns; upon which Erasmus had been engaged for years. In the preface he wrote:—

"I wish that even the weakest woman should read the Gospels—should read the Epistles of Paul; and I wish that they were translated into all languages, so that the husbandman should sing portions of them to himself as he follows the plough, that the weaver should hum them to the tune of his shuttle, that the traveller should beguile with their stories the tedium of his journey."

That would seem a very natural wish in our day, but it was heresy when Erasmus penned it. Only he was too cosmopolitan to be arraigned by any nation. After all it was but a wish. Not even Erasmus with all his powerful friends in high places dare venture upon a vernacular translation; but he paved the way to which Wycliffe had pointed, and the Christian world must thank him. Erasmus lived to take part in many a bitter controversy that was looming in the distance, but Colet died in retirement A.D. 1519. When their friend More became speaker of the house of commons, and had less time for the work, other men carried it on with vigour.

3. Wolsey's scheme for Church reform.—Thomas Wolsey had then reached the zenith of his fame, though not of his ambition. He had been made archbishop of York A.D. 1514, lord high chancellor in 1515, and a cardinal the same year. In 1517, by special permission and request of the king, he became extraordinary legate of the pope, with full power over all the religious houses that had been exempt from episcopal jurisdiction. The tide of public opinion became so strongly set against the ignorance and vices of many monks and friars that Wolsey conceived a plan for their suppression. As a patron of the "new learning," he was able to find a good excuse. The only

reason left for the existence of monasteries, when their piety and seclusion became things of the past, was their literary and hospitable character ; but men were beginning to see that educational work could be better done by the newly founded schools and colleges, and that—

Men need not bid, for cloistered cell,
Their neighbour and their work farewell.

Wolsey first persuaded the university of Oxford to let him remodel its statutes ; and followed that up by founding a number of professorships for theology and classics, that the next generation of clergy might at least be freer from such charges of ignorance as Colet and others had brought against their own age. Wolsey proceeded to inquire minutely into the condition of monasteries generally, accumulating stores of information to their great discredit. A fair summary of such information occurs in a letter received by Wolsey from the bishop of Worcester, wherein the latter explained “the need in which monasteries stood of reformation, and that great care would be required in dealing with nunneries, as great abuses would be found in them.” In consequence Cardinal Wolsey wrote to the king that there were many “exile and small monasteries wherein neither God is served nor religion kept,” and asked that the worst and least necessary might be suppressed in order that educational institutions might be founded with their revenues. Wolsey’s most practical idea was the foundation of the famous college of *Christchurch, Oxford*, with a feeding institution for it in the shape of a public grammar-school in his native town of *Ipswich*. He also proposed to augment the number of bishops. There had been no increase in the English episcopate during the times of papal interference, and Wolsey desired that new bishoprics should be endowed from the revenues of suppressed monasteries. He did not live to see his larger scheme completed, but the wisdom of the plan was so clear that it was subsequently carried out, as will be explained in the next chapter. He also endeavoured to persuade the Church in France to join the Church of England in repudiating papal supremacy, but did not succeed. He played in fact a double game. His love of popularity and desire to serve the king moved him to side with public opinion in England against the foreign jurisdiction ; but as his excessive ambition caused him to covet the papal chair it was not his desire that England should be cut off from communion with Rome, or that Hildebrand’s idea of an universal Church, recognising a single earthly chief, should fall to the ground. The king at that time had great confidence

in his chancellor, and entered heartily into his projects, with the result that Wolsey was allowed to summon the convocations of York and Canterbury in his legatine capacity for a joint synod at Westminster (A.D. 1523) to formulate and carry out the suggested reforms; bulls being obtained from Rome for the purpose. This resulted in the suppression (in many different counties) of forty monasteries of nearly every religious order of monks or nuns, but chiefly Benedictine, Augustinian, and Cluniac; and the introduction of new disciplinary rules in many other houses, chiefly the Augustinian. On the other hand Wolsey was himself the greatest offender in a different branch of ecclesiastical abuses. He was a man of luxurious tastes, who accumulated great wealth by holding *in commendam* a number of the richest benefices in England and abroad, and thus was able to build and maintain great palaces at Hampton-court, Esher, Fleet-street, and Whitehall, where he lived in such regal state that Henry was filled with envy. Wolsey's rapid rise in influence and wealth was exceeded by the rapidity of his degradation. He was not willing that the king should be divorced from his first wife without the consent of the pope, whereupon he was dismissed from the court, and deprived of his high offices one by one; Sir Thomas More succeeded him as chancellor (1529). The fortune Wolsey had amassed was made a further cause of offence, and in the manner of the time it was declared confiscate. As Henry never ruined a man by halves, or allowed him opportunity to regain popularity, Wolsey's degradation was quickly followed by a trumped-up charge of treason. On his way from York to London to answer that accusation the cardinal was taken ill at Leicester-abbey, where he died in a few hours. Readers are asked to remember that all Wolsey's wise and temperate schemes for Church reform were made long before the king's domestic difficulties arose; that they were in



CARDINAL WOLSEY.

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active operation up to the time of his fall ; and were subsequently carried on with vigour. Sir Thomas More made them the subject of his earliest official utterances as lord chancellor. They are therefore looked upon, apparently with good reason, as the first effective beginnings of actual reformation in the national Church, which had been so earnestly desired for generations. It is an error to suppose that the matrimonial complications of Henry VIII. were the causes of such reformation. They were occasions which accelerated some of its attendant circumstances,



RUINS OF LEICESTER-ABBEY (*see previous page*).

but all measures of Church reform can be clearly shown to have originated from the Church herself. It would be useless to discuss in this small book the probable direction reform would have taken had Wolsey lived to carry on the work ; nor are we concerned at all with movements under individual leaders ; it is sufficient for our purpose that the reformation which actually took place had its rise in a general recognition of the rights of national Churches to control their own affairs, so far as might be consistent with primitive Church customs and the word

of God. The charge against Wolsey was that he had illegally exercised legatine authority in England contrary to the statute of *Præmunire*. The king had given him special licence to do so under the great seal, and therefore the proceedings against him were unfair. Still it shows the latent power in the statute which was well known to all lawyers of the time. The king used the ancient statute mercilessly, for his personal ends no doubt, but everything was done under existing law.

4. The king's divorce.—It is necessary to glance briefly at Henry's domestic troubles. They came about in this way:—Henry VII. had two sons, Arthur and Henry. Arthur was married to Princess Catharine of Aragon while yet a boy, and died, so it was afterwards alleged by the lady, before the marriage was consummated. Henry VII. then betrothed Catharine to his still younger son Henry, in defiance of the table of affinity, obtaining for the purpose a dispensation from Pope Julius II., A.D. 1504. Prince Henry disliked the alliance, but on succeeding to his father's throne as Henry VIII. was advised for political reasons to carry out the contract. They lived peacefully together for eighteen years, but when the children of the marriage died, except Princess Mary, some one suggested to the king that God disapproved the union; and when a marriage between the surviving child and a French prince was prevented, through doubt of her legitimacy, he wished to divorce his queen. JULIUS II., A.D. 1503-13.



There were not wanting ladies glad to occupy her place. Henry's real reason may be traced to this latter cause. Queen Catharine, being much older than himself, was then a faded invalid, long past her prime, while he was in the vigour of manhood and desirous of marrying a lady of court, named Anne Boleyn. As justice and equity demanded that the best should have been made of his bad bargain with Catharine, the king's action was inexcusable. At that time questions relating to marriage were decided by Church courts. Negotiations were therefore set on foot between Henry VIII. and Clement VII. in 1527 with the object of setting aside the marriage which Julius II. had wrongly sanctioned; but Clement had to consider other

European princes who were related to the queen, and delayed decision so long that Henry, in disgust, determined to take up the cause of the national clergy who were writhing under the papal yoke, and hastened the passage of measures (recommended by both convocations) which declared (A.D. 1531) that the bishop of Rome should no longer have jurisdiction, spiritual or temporal, in England, and that the king alone ought to have supreme authority. A special act enabling him to divorce Catharine was then a very easy matter. Her appeal to papal arbitration in the year 1529 gave rise to the statute (24 Henry VIII., c. 12) which confirmed in a stringent manner all previous laws against appeals to Rome. Acting on the assumption that his first marriage was illegal, the king married Anne Boleyn in January 1533. The divorce was not pronounced until three months later. Catharine died in 1536, and was buried in *Peterborough cathedral*. We have here expressed in few sentences the result of debates, passions, and intrigues during several years, which some people have thought to be the chief cause of the English reformation. In reality it was only an incident in a great drama, of which the prologue and plot must be looked for elsewhere. Henry's chief advocate was *Thomas Cranmer*, who was sent to Rome in 1530 to plead against the appeal lodged by Queen Catharine the previous year. He became archbishop of Canterbury on the death of Warham (March 1533), in return for his help in furnishing the king with arguments in favour of the divorce. Cranmer's first act on attaining the primacy was to pronounce Catharine's marriage void. Clement VII. resented that defiant act (Sept. 1533) by declaring it to be valid. Cranmer then became the leader of the anti-papal movement, and his name has been associated, in consequence, with all the good and all the evil that those times brought forth, according to the prejudiced ideas of different partisans ; so that some consider him a saint, while others load his memory with ignominy. With the exception of Fisher, the aged bishop of Rochester, the prelates were unanimously of opinion that the king's marriage with Catharine was invalid ; and there was no serious opposition in the house of lords to the statutes directed against papal authority that preceded or succeeded the divorce. Englishmen had long been wishing to get rid of the foreign jurisdiction ; and when there was a possibility of obtaining their desire, and pleasing the popular king at the same time, all parties in the state were pleased. The sequence of events at that time is noteworthy. Wolsey's reforms were in full progress by 1523 ; the divorce was not

thought of until four years after, nor did it become an accomplished fact until 1533 ; whereas the chief steps by which the national Church regained its independence had been taken at the suggestion of convocation before that event, and independently of it. (See also p. 285.)



PETERBOROUGH CATHEDRAL.

5. Convocation and the "seven years" parliament.

—In the year 1529 a new parliament was called together ; and as there was not much freedom of election then it consisted chiefly of those who were friendly to the king's divorce. That parliament lasted

seven years, and passed the various statutes by which the reforming opinions received legal sanction. Because each stage in the work of reform obtained the sanction of the civil legislature, it is assumed by some that king and parliament only undertook the work of reforming the Church, from without. But that is just the reverse of what really happened ; for the Church's representative assemblies, the convocations of York and Canterbury, *first* passed the measures and then submitted them to parliament and the king for ratification. This still remains the practice of the national Church ; which has never surrendered its authority "to ordain, change, and abolish" its ceremonies and rites, nor allowed to princes the ministering of God's word or the sacraments.



The question of *jurisdiction* cannot be considered a purely ecclesiastical one because no doctrine or ceremony is affected thereby ; so that statutes against the pope's authority might very properly have been formulated without consulting the Church. But as a matter of fact parliament rarely ventured upon such matters until convocation had taken the initiative. For instance, we find that it was convocation (A.D. 1531), speaking in the name of the national Church, which suggested that the obedience of England should be withdrawn from the see of

LEO X., 1513-22 (*see p. 286*). Rome. The cause was not the king's divorce in any degree, but the pressure of papal taxation. The papal Curia would not appoint to a bishopric unless the nominee paid to the pope the whole of his first year's income in advance, together with large sums for bulls of consecration and admission to the see. The clergy had just been punished under *Præmunire* for accepting Wolsey as papal legate (*see page 282*), and they naturally argued that an illegal authority could not demand tribute. So they petitioned the king to "ordain in this present parliament that these *annates* or first-fruits should no longer be paid, and that if the pope should proceed to enforce payment, by interdict or otherwise, then the obedience of the king and his people should be altogether withdrawn from the pope." Parliament assented to the petition of convocation

by passing a statute (25 Hen. VIII., c. 20) in accordance with its terms. Disinterested motives could hardly have been expected from the king at that juncture, because he wished to obtain the sanction of the pope for his divorce. He withheld his final assent to give Clement VII. time for consideration ; but it became law as soon as Henry found that the papacy would not yield. Thus, although the divorce had nothing to do with the petition of convocation, it had all to do with the decision of the king. And so throughout. The need of the Church was made to serve the personal interest of Henry VIII. Henry readily acceded to the petition of the clergy that annates should not be paid to the pope, but as soon as the royal supremacy was regained he ordered that they should be paid to himself instead of to Rome. The Church led the van also in the complete repudiation of papal authority, for on March 31, 1534, the convocation of Canterbury declared that "the bishop of Rome hath no greater jurisdiction conferred on him by God over this country than any other foreign bishop." The convocation of York made a similar declaration on May 5 that year, and the clergy and monks of both provinces, almost without exception, readily signed the document. It was some months afterwards that the act (25 Hen. VIII., c. 21) was passed prohibiting the publication of any more papal bulls ; and still later (26 Hen. VIII., c. 1) before parliament legalised the royal supremacy ; while it was not until the next parliament (1537) that the decisive and final statute (28 Hen. VIII., c. 10) terminated for ever the pope's jurisdiction in England. The same parliament passed other statutes dealing with smaller matters arising out of the above, and with the royal supremacy ; it also restricted certain privileges that had accrued to the clergy through their connection with Rome, such as the constitution of the ecclesiastical courts. Convocation gave its formal assent after discussion, but no vital principle was affected thereby. The point to be remembered is that the "seven years" parliament did not pass a single statute, nor clause of a statute, which had for its object the annihilation of the old religious body of the land or the formation of a new religious body ; and that all the changes received the prior assent of the old national Church, through its representative assembly of convocation. The declared object of parliament was the restoration of rights and privileges anciently held but afterwards usurped ; although it must be confessed that over anxiety to preserve the rights of laymen resulted in loss to the clergy of several privileges they had long enjoyed.

6. The royal supremacy.—It has often been said with a sneer that, because Clement VII. declined to minister to his passion, Henry VIII. destroyed papal power in England and made himself the pope of a Church of his own creation. That is a short and easy but very untrue way of dealing with the complications of that time. The supremacy of the English kings was no new thing, although it had been in abeyance for a time. It is true that Henry revived it, and obtained explanatory statutes confirming his actions under ancient laws, but it was well understood that the principles were sufficiently assured by older statutes. The *Præmunire* act of Richard II., under which Wolsey had been charged with treason, contained a clause that all abettors and counsellors of any persons chargeable under that act were equally liable to its penalties. A great stir was caused by Henry's determination to enforce that clause; for all the clergy and laity had acquiesced in Wolsey's exercise of legatine authority, thus violating the letter of the ancient law. Parliament made an abject apology in the name of the laity, and was dismissed with a sharp reprimand. The convocation as representing the clergy did not escape so easily, for they had to pay enormous fines before the king would pardon them. That was in 1530. Anything more arbitrary than the king's action in the matter cannot be conceived; but it is well that we should understand that before the so-called breach with Rome and while it was still possible that the pope might sanction the divorce, severe statutes had long been hanging over the heads of those who in this country should assent to papal jurisdiction. It is supposed that the king desired to obtain an unconditional acknowledgment of his supremacy over the Church; but he did not get it. A statute was framed to legalise the imposition of the above mentioned fine, which spoke of "the English Church and clergy of which the king alone is protector and *supreme head*." But the convocations refused to accept such unqualified terms; and had them limited by making the clause read, "the English Church and clergy of which we recognise his majesty as the singular protector, the sole and supreme ruler, and, *so far as is allowed by the law of Christ*,¹ the supreme head." The debates of

¹ The law of Christ as laid down in the New Testament (Rom. xiii. 1-6 and 1 Pet. ii. 13-15) clearly indicates that submission should be made by Christians to the civil rulers, because they are placed in their high position to bear the sword of justice as God's ministers; and therefore, as our thirty-seventh article rightly declares, the monarch has chief power "over all estates of men in this realm."

convocation on the point were very useful because they drew forth explanations from the king that no intrusion into priestly functions was meant by the rejected title, but only the resumption of jurisdiction over spiritual things so far as they included matters of property and justice. The clergy and laity were almost unanimous in assenting to the king's supremacy as so limited ; but there were several prominent persons who disliked the tendency of affairs, and conscientiously objected to the king's proposed divorce or any limitation of the pope's existing authority. Chief among them were John Fisher, bishop of Rochester, and Sir Thomas More, the lord chancellor (page 272). The



SIR THOMAS MORE'S HOUSE, CHELSEA.

latter, seeing that troubles were coming, resigned his office, and lived in close retirement at his ancestral home in Chelsea, his place as chief adviser of the crown being filled by *Thomas Cromwell* (see page 305). The famous supremacy act (26 Hen. VIII., c. 1) expressly states in its preamble the prior existence of the right, and its acceptance by the convocations ; and that the clauses which followed were only intended to corroborate and confirm. Nor can there be doubt on this point. Bishops Gardiner of Winchester and Tonstall of Durham, who afterwards became chief advisers of Queen Mary, took pains to explain that "no new thing was introduced when the king was declared to be the Supreme head." Lawyers all agree that power was *restored* to the crown, not conferred upon it, and that the results of the acts enabled

Henry VIII. to *re-assume* the authority and prerogatives of the crown from which the kings of England had never formally departed, though they had for a century connived at an invasion and usurpation of them. Sir Thomas More and Bishop Fisher were the only men of importance who objected to that statute of supremacy when all chief persons in the realm were required to take the oath which it imposed, and they were sent to the Tower for their refusal (April 1534). They did not object to the *succession act* (26 Hen. VIII., c. 2) which legalised the offspring of Henry's second marriage, for both offered to swear allegiance to Anne Boleyn's children in preference to those of Queen Catharine ; but they declined to accept the particular form of oath submitted, because they had persuaded themselves that allegiance to the pope ought not to be withdrawn. That their position was well understood at Rome is clear from the circumstance that a cardinal's hat was sent to Bishop Fisher, which incensed the king still further. The pope responsible for sending it was Paul III. (page 316). He launched all manner of interdicts and excommunications against England and its king, absolved Henry's subjects from their allegiance, and incited other European princes to depose him. The king of France remonstrated against such rashness, and the anathemas were withheld until the dissolution of monasteries and suppression of shrines were nearly completed (1539). After lingering more than a year in the Tower, Bishop Fisher was beheaded for high treason, June 22, 1535 ; and Sir Thomas More met with the same ill fate on July 6. The judicial murders of those two devout men will always be deplored ; but they had made themselves the champions of a system (conscientiously no doubt) which had wrought intolerable injury to our country ; and when the determination to resume national rights was agreed to by parliament, those who resisted were declared traitors to the common-weal. Dissatisfaction was freely expressed abroad at such extreme measures, but Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, and Fox,



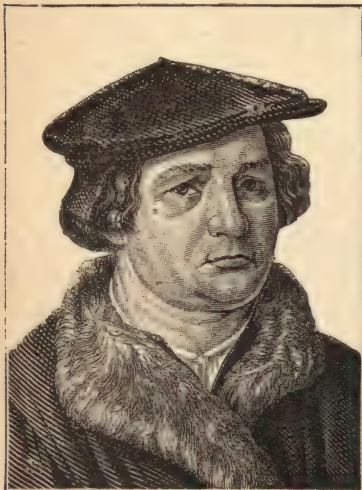
BISHOP FISHER.

bishop of Hereford, were sent to France and Saxony to explain matters. It is thought by some that the repudiation of papal jurisdiction was a violation of an existing compact between the Church of England and Rome, but as there is no law, canon, statute, or decree on record in all our history, assenting to papal authority in this land, such a position is quite untenable. The Church of England gladly assented to the restored supremacy of the English crown, that she might be more free to reform doctrinal abuses than the popes were willing to allow; but there was no idea of exchanging autocrats. Therefore, when Henry VIII. desired a right of veto in matters of doctrine, by demanding that all the canons or rules of the Church should be submitted for his approval, convocation at once resisted his claim. It was willing that all old canons, not belonging to matters of faith, should be examined by a competent committee as to whether they contained anything contrary to the peace of the realm or the honour of the king;—and rightly so, because it is possible to conceive that a great community like the national Church might occasionally be induced to promulgate laws for itself that would prove detrimental to other national interests. Convocation also agreed that no *new* canons should be imposed without the royal assent; and that letters of business should be procured from the crown before it proceeded to formulate any new ones; but it was clearly understood that convocation refused to surrender the Church's ancient privilege of decreeing its own rites and ceremonies. Those decisions were afterwards embodied in a statute (25 Hen. VIII., c. 19) called "*The submission of the clergy.*" There are other misconceptions abroad respecting that period. The statute (25 Hen. VIII., c. 20) forbidding payment of first-fruits to Rome, and the statute (25 Hen. VIII., c. 21) forbidding the issue of papal bulls in England which had been thought necessary for the consecration of a bishop, are often quoted as if they transferred from the bishop of Rome to the English king the power of appointing new bishops. But *they did not create any new power.* They merely restored an ancient prerogative that dated from the times of the heptarchy, when it was necessary for the safety of a missionary bishop that he should have the protection and licence of the crown to work in a given area. The prerogative had been lost by Henry I. and King John, when the election of bishops was nominally vested in the cathedral chapters; but chapter elections were never more than nominal, for they had always been forced to elect either the papal or the royal nominee (see page 202). The

last bulls received in England during Henry's reign were those relating to the consecration of Archbishop Cranmer. Thenceforth the bishops had to take out commissions from the king; and among those who did so were Bishops Gardiner, Bonner, and Tonstall, who subsequently opposed the progress of reforming measures. The commissions received by bishops from the king distinguished in terms between the divine authority bestowed through ordination and the power of jurisdiction apart from the purely spiritual office, which the king alone may give.¹

7. Foreign influences.—We must now refer briefly to continental reforms that indirectly influenced those in England. All Europe was ringing with horror at the shameless traffic in indulgences, called by Erasmus "the crime of false pardons," which a man named

Tetzel was then hawking in the pope's name. Princes were offered and accepted a share in the proceeds for allowing him to trade with them in their dominions; although there were honest rulers like the Elector Frederick of Saxony, who declined to assist in such shameless defrauding of their people. In the dominions of Duke Frederick lived the fearless friar, *Martin Luther*, who nailed upon the door of All Saints' church, Wittenberg, a long list of objections to the trade, which set the western world ablaze with controversy. He followed that up with a pamphlet against papal doctrine, entitled *The Babylonish Captivity of the*



MARTIN LUTHER.

Church. In 1520 Leo X. issued a bull declaring Luther a dangerous heretic, and ordered Duke Frederick to deliver him over to the papal courts for trial. The duke consulted Erasmus before taking

¹ See *Institution of Christian Man* (drawn up A.D. 1537), wherein jurisdiction is understood to be *punitive*, such as excommunication; *delegative*, as giving clergy control over parishes; and *legislative*, such as making canons.

action ; and the latter, while objecting to the violent language of the hot-tempered Luther, advised the duke to protect him. But Luther could not be gentle. He flung down the gauntlet of defiance by publicly burning the bull ; and with it a complete set of the Roman canon-law books, in token of his conviction that Germany should be free from the pope's jurisdiction. The right of national Churches to independent self-government was everywhere becoming an accepted necessity, but there were different opinions as to how it should be obtained. Those who followed Martin Luther adopted revolutionary methods. In England freedom was obtained without violating the constitution and ancient customs. A significant sign of the importance attached to Luther's proceedings appears in the fact that Henry VIII. wrote a book against the *Babylonish Captivity* which appeared in August 1521. It defended papal authority as of divine origin, and so pleased the pope, to whom it was presented, that in a special consistory the title of *Defender of the Faith* was solemnly conferred upon the king. Martin Luther at once replied in violent terms to his royal antagonist, and was controverted in turn by Bishop Fisher and Sir Thomas More, whose books did much to prevent their authors from accepting subsequent repudiations of papal jurisdiction. That controversy was accompanied by public burnings in England of Lutheran books by the authority of Wolsey ; a circumstance often stated to his discredit, when really it was proof of his moderation. For he had been urged to promote repressive measures against the persons of those who accepted Lutheran ideas, which must have resulted in the deaths of many, but as he considered that an ostentatious destruction of their writings would be a sufficient warning he altogether declined to proceed to extremities. *Lutheranism did not take root in this country.* After English repudiation of papal supremacy an attempt was made through Cranmer's influence (1538) to Lutheranise the Church ; but it failed because the German teachers, whom he had invited, made so many objections to the English customs. Their propositions for reforming the Church were controverted by the king, and thus retarded rather than assisted the removal of abuses. It was natural that other countries besides England and Germany should produce reformers, and Switzerland was particularly active, notably in Zurich, where *Ulrich Zwingli* was chief, and in Geneva, where *John Calvin* led the van. Both those men held novel ideas on the eucharist controversy, and both quarrelled with Luther. Neither cared a whit for apostolic traditions or saw any virtue in the

Church's historic continuity. Calvin made himself civil and religious dictator of Geneva, and banished all who dared dispute his dogmas; one man, *Servetus*, being burned for venturing to differ from him on a point of doctrine. Calvin's religious system was set forth in a book called *The Institutes*, published by him in 1536. Until the new reformers had grown too powerful to be resisted their followers were greatly persecuted, especially in France. Through Cranmer's influence many were allowed to take refuge in England. We gladly admit that the advice and researches of the learned among those refugees were of value to our divines in their work of reform, because of their experience in the doctrinal contests of their time; and we thankfully recollect that English hospitality to them was well repaid when reactionary parties held the field (p. 339); but nevertheless it is clear that the foreign reformers introduced many revolutionary ideas, which were subversive of all rule and authority, whether in Church or realm; and that their objections to alterations and translations subsequently made in the service books, because their own suggestions were not in every case accepted, proved an ultimate thorn in the side of the national clergy; for the foreigners at once proceeded to sow the seed of non-conformity, which bore much wild fruit in the shape of political and religious dissensions, as subsequent chapters will show.

8. Translation of the Scriptures.—Reference was made in our first volume to early and partial translations of the Scriptures, and to Wycliffe's complete version. But Wycliffe's Bible had only been distributed in manuscript portions, and was full of obsolete phrases unintelligible to the sixteenth century. It also contained a questionable preface that effectually prevented its acceptance by the clergy. The Greek Testament of Erasmus has also been alluded to. Their results must now be considered. The constant appeals to Scripture which marked the controversies of Henry's reign made the nation earnestly desire a better knowledge of its contents. A Cambridge scholar, William Tyndall, asked the bishop of London (Fitz James) to grant him facilities to make an English translation (1523), but his application came at the time when Luther's writings were being suppressed, and the project was coldly received. So Tyndall went to Hamburg, where he secretly translated the New Testament. It was printed at Worms by Schoeffer, A.D. 1526. Fifteen thousand copies were produced, smuggled into England in bales of merchandise, and sold at a cheap rate all over the country. Portions of the Old

¶ The xxxij. Chapter.

¶ God prospereth Joseph. Pharaos wyfe tēp
reth hym. He is accused and cast in prison. God
hath mercy vpon hym.

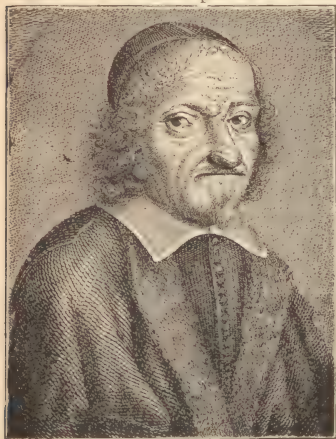


Poseph was brought into E-
gypte, and Putiphar* a Lorde
of Pharaos : & his chefe mar-
shalan Egyptian, bought him
of ʒinnaelites which brought
him thither. And the Lorde was woth Jo-
seph, & he was a luckie felowe and continued
in the house of his master the Egyptian. And
hys maplter sawe that the Lorde was woth
hym, and that the Lorde made all that he dōd
prosper in hys hande : Wherefore he founde
grace in his masters spghte, and serued him.
And hys maplter made hym ruelar of hys
house, and put al that he had in hys hād. And
as soone as he had made him ruelar ouer his
house & ouer al that he had, the Lorde blessed
this Egyptians house for Joseps sake, and
the blessing of the Lorde was vpon all that
he had: both in the house & also in the feldes.
And therefore he left all ʒ he had in Joseps
hande, & looked vpon nothing that was with
him, saue only on the bread which he ate. And

Testament appeared four years later. The clergy feared that the indis-
criminate and undirected perusal of
an admittedly inaccurate version of
the Scriptures might produce lament-
able consequences, and the new bishop
of London (Cuthbert Tonstall) bought
up all the copies he could find and
publicly burnt them. The money so
expended served to furnish Tyndall
with the means for new editions. Sir
Thomas More exposed the imper-
fections and inaccuracies of the new
translation, in a pamphlet filled with
unmitigated abuse; to which Tyndall
replied in phrases to correspond.
Strong language was the order of
that day. Had Tyndall kept his great
work out of the mire of controversy he
would have been a real hero, because

A PAGE OF TYNDALL'S O. T. his English version formed a basis
for all subsequent translations. Previous versions had been made from
Latin translations, as was Wycliffe's; but Tyndall, though indebted
to Wycliffe's Bible for many phrases, was the first to attempt an
English translation of the New Testament out of the original Greek,
and the greater portion of the Old Testament from Hebrew. But he
seriously weakened the usefulness of his labours by adding a running
commentary and a preface which made very strong aspersions upon
contemporary abuses. Had he left the sacred Word to tell its own
tale in the mother tongue all might have been well. As it was, he
gave his adversaries an excuse to destroy him, for after a rigorous
imprisonment the Germans burnt him in 1536. The English clergy
meanwhile disclaimed any desire to withhold the Scriptures from the
people; and declared that their only object was to prevent the
distribution of inaccurate, seditious, or unorthodox editions. When it
became clear that the country would not be satisfied without a
vernacular translation of the Bible, convocation earnestly pleaded with
the king that the English bishops should make a new translation that
could be issued with authority (1534). Meanwhile several other private

versions were issued. The first of them was by *Miles Coverdale*, who translated from St. Jerome's fourth-century Latin version, known as the Vulgate, which had long been used in England; taking much English phraseology from Wycliffe and Tyndall. It did not receive the express sanction of convocation or the crown, but it was allowed to be freely sold, and may be considered the first English Bible. It dates from 1535. Two years later *Matthew's Bible* was published, which was merely a reprint of Tyndall's as far as that went, the rest being supplied from Coverdale's. *Matthew's Bible* was approved by the court, but convocation objected to its inaccuracies. The many variations in those private versions indicated the need for a more



MILES COVERDALE.

careful and scholarly rendering. Eventually the bishops, who had been engaged in the work for five years, issued in 1539 what is known as the *Great Bible*, and it was ordered to be set up in all the churches. Because of the great cost incurred in producing and printing a Bible in those days, especial care was taken for the safety of copies by chaining them to oak desks or stone walls. The rush to read them proves that a desire for knowledge then pervaded all the land. Very few could read, but all could listen. The explicit terms of the proclamation which granted and thus provided an open Bible in the

vernacular will well bear repetition. Every parish priest was thereby ordered to "provide one book of the whole Bible, of the largest volume, in English, and have the same set up in some convenient place within the church, whereat the parishioners may most commodiously resort to the same, and read it," and the clergy were further instructed to "discourage no man, privily or openly, from reading the same Bible, but to expressly provoke, stir, and exhort every person to read the same, as that which is the very lively word of God." In 1543 the orderly reading of Scripture in the Church services on Sundays and holydays, a lesson from the Old and a lesson

from the New Testament, was ordered by convocation. When the Scriptures in English were thus authorised and publicly read, there was less reason to find fault with the statute (34 & 35 Hen. VIII., c. 1) which prohibited all annotated copies of the Bible from being circulated.

9. Doctrinal reforms.—Next to the Bible in importance comes the *Liturgy*, or “service book,” which comprises and limits the doctrines and worship of the Church. The Latin service books already referred to (see page 155) had been so altered by additions and complications that great inconvenience was felt in using them; and the same causes which required an English Bible, demanded that the public worship of the Church should be offered in a language “understood of the people.” Just as there had been portions of the Scripture in English from the earliest times, so had there been English books of prayer for private use called *Primers*, and interlined translations of the ancient “*Uses*”; although the services had always been said or sung in Latin. The book for the ordinary daily services was called the *Breviary*, and that for the communion service the *Missal*; the ordination services formed a separate book called the *Pontifical*, besides which there was the *Manual*, containing the occasional offices which a priest could perform. Our own revered Prayer-book is practically a compilation from those ancient books, simplifying their arrangement and omitting the erroneous accretions which were introduced after the Norman conquest. So early as the year 1516, and again in 1531 and 1542, convocation revised the *Sarum breviary* by simplifying the rubrics and arranging for the orderly reading of all the Scriptures. In 1542 convocation appointed a committee to thoroughly revise the same and translate it into English, omitting all references to the bishop of Rome which had crept in, and abolishing the memorials of mediæval saints. The work was not concluded until the beginning of the next reign, but a portion of their labours appeared in 1543–44, when the *Litany* was published in English and ordered to be sung in all churches every Sunday and holyday. That edition of the litany was disfigured by a petition to be delivered “from the bishop of Rome and his detestable enormities.” The leading spirit of those revisions was Archbishop Cranmer; to whom was due also the direction of the revision of the Scriptures, known as the Great Bible, from which our Prayer-book psalms are taken. There need not be any mistake respecting the motives which guided convocation in their liturgical revisions; for the statute (25 Hen. VIII., c. 21) which forbade the

issue of papal bulls in England disclaimed any intention "to decline or vary from the congregation of Christ's Church in anything concerning the very [true] articles of the catholic Church." The communion by doctrine, devotion, and discipline with all true adherents of apostolic faith and primitive Church customs, has always been the aim and object of English churchmen. They have not always been able to prevent the introduction of errors and abuses, and in their efforts to shake them off not always free from recklessness, but throughout all changes and chances they have been providentially enabled to preserve inviolate the fundamental principles of catholic and apostolic truth. To allay the fears of such as thought events were moving too fast, convocation drew up (A.D. 1536) *Ten Articles*, five doctrinal and five ceremonial, which controverted extreme opinions of reformers and Romanisers alike, and asserted the Bible and three creeds to be the only true basis of faith; and the first four general councils to be the only authority for Church discipline; thus going back at a bound to the decisions of Theodore's synods of Hertford and Hatfield (pages 87-89). Those ten articles were afterwards embodied in a book of instruction for the laity, entitled *The Institution of a Christian Man*, and commonly called the *Bishop's Book*; which was drawn up at Craumer's Lambeth residence and signed by all the dignitaries. It contained admirable expositions of the creed, the Lord's prayer and the ten commandments; and statements respecting other subjects that were then matters of controversy, which were considerably modified later on.

10. The reactionary party.—Party spirit in those days ran higher than it does now. Moreover the religious question was almost the only one that the country then cared for. So that all the political influence of governments and aspirants to office was ranged in opposing forces which did battle for or against the reforming principles. Convocation itself was nearly equally divided, and when a new parliament met in 1539, followed by a reconstructed privy council which promoted only anti-reformers to Church offices carrying seats in convocation, those who were suspected of religious opinions which had produced such sad revolutions abroad were treated with considerable severity. The party opposed to further reforms comprised the extremists who believed in papal supremacy, and whose sympathies for Queen Catharine, Bishop Fisher, and Sir Thomas More, made them revengeful; those also who would have been content with the royal supremacy, but who deprecated the pitiless dissolution of monasteries which we

shall treat of in the next chapter ; and those who, though prepared to accept the ten articles, objected to the continental reformers who surrounded Archbishop Cranmer. Thus a reaction began ; and after the Lutheran divines had indiscreetly denounced the English ceremonial, the duke of Norfolk succeeded in passing through parliament the statute of the *Six Articles* (31 Hen. VIII., c. 14) containing terrible penal provisions on six points of doctrine and discipline ; the effect of which was to restore temporarily transubstantiation, celibacy of the clergy, private masses, communion in one kind, and compulsory confession ; and to declare that although the monasteries had been dissolved, the vows of their late inmates were still binding. That a majority in convocation was induced to sanction this statute proves that there was a great aversion to the rapidity of recent changes. The severity of the six article statute was intentional. Its bark was worse than its bite. Men were afraid to offend, and therefore its penalties were seldom enforced. Accounts as to persons suffering under it are very conflicting. In 1543 its provisions were made less stringent and in 1547 it was repealed altogether. But while it was in force great terror seized many of the bishops and clergy. Bishops *Latimer* and *Shaxton* resigned their sees, and were placed in the custody of bishops of opposite opinions ; while Cranmer was the subject of many conspiracies and



had to separate from his wife. A monarch is generally credited with the good that arises during his reign, even though his sanction may have been unwillingly given; but the religious progress in the reign of Henry VIII. is by no means due exclusively to him. It was the effort made by the Church to satisfy the cravings of her children. The Church was still a power in the land. Her prerogatives were not assailed, and although convocation was often unduly pressed by the king to hurry on the work of reform, neither parliament nor king would then have dared to alter anything without its sanction. And the clergy through convocation, did not consent to any changes that would impair its apostolic fellowship or Catholic doctrine, its ministerial succession, or the validity of its sacramental ordinances. It was doubtless owing to Cranmer's moderation and meekness, which made him bend to storms while others would be ruined by resisting them, that the Church was safely steered through the rest of Henry's reign; and that the action of those who would have restored the papal domination was rendered ineffectual.



ST. MARY'S ABBEY, YORK (see page 315).

CHAPTER XVIII. (A.D. 1536-1540).

DISSOLUTION OF THE MONASTERIES

“The tapers shall be quenched, the belfries mute,
And, 'mid their choirs unroofed by selfish rage,
The warbling wren shall find a leafy cage.

Yet some noviciates of the cloistral shade,
Or chained by vows, with undissembled glee
The warrant hail—exulting to be free.”

1. Pre-Norman and post-Norman religious houses.—

The peculiar and extensive character of the dissolution of monasteries, and the issues involved, require special and separate treatment. The usual plan of explaining their suppression is to point out that those of small income and few inmates were first assailed, and afterwards the greater and richer ones. This method is chronologically accurate and easily understood, but it omits important considerations which should not be overlooked. A sharp line of distinction ought to be drawn between religious houses founded before the Norman conquest, or reconstituted at the beginning of that epoch, and those which were introduced in and after the twelfth century (see pages 180-186). Generally speaking, and with few exceptions, the monasteries founded before the twelfth century recognised the right of the bishop to visit and correct their houses. And it must be remembered that all such earlier foundations belonged either to the ancient *Benedictine order* or to the early Norman developments of it known as the “Augustinian” and “Cluniac” orders (see pages 108, 128, and 150), and we may class these more ancient foundations under a generic title of *national monasteries*, seeing that they submitted to the jurisdiction of the English bishops. Many of them had a rich heritage of historic memories. Some, like Glastonbury, had an uninterrupted existence from obscure Celtic ages; and others, like Canterbury and Lindisfarne, from early Anglo-Saxon times. Their life and traditions were bound up with the national history, while a thousand recollections endeared them to gentle and simple alike. Some were for men, such as Edmondsbury and St. Albans; and others were homes for gentlewomen and schools for young ladies, as at Godstow nunnery in Oxfordshire. But after the year 1129, when the *Cistercian order* came to Surrey, very few, if any, Benedictine houses were founded. The bishop of Rome was then beginning to exercise direct authority in England, and the Cistercians were under his immediate control. Their settlement in Britain received his express

sanction—not merely that they might introduce a more severe method of religious life—but chiefly that they might help forward papal aggrandisement. The same is true of the *Carthusian monks* who commenced to settle here in 1181, and of numerous smaller religious orders subsequently founded; especially the mendicant friars (pages 213 and 214). Those later religious orders commenced by obtaining special privileges from the bishop of Rome, through which they claimed exemption from English episcopal jurisdiction, and ended by setting up their houses all over the land. They soon excited the jealousy of the earlier foundations (many of whom sought similar exemption in order to preserve their prestige), and ultimately they brought the whole conventual system into discredit. It is true that good, learned, and patriotic men were often found among the later orders, but speaking generally we must class the “post-Norman” celibate foundations under the generic title of *foreign monasteries*. Visitors to any



VALLE CRUCIS (CISTERCIAN).

“minster” or “abbey” church, or to the ruins of such, should always inquire which order of monks had settled there, and what was the date of its *original* foundation. The answers will help to explain why some are still used by the national Church and others are not. It cannot be a mere coincidence that the monastery churches still in use are almost invariably of pre-Norman origin, and generally of the Benedictine order; the only exceptions being the public portions of churches belonging to foreign monasteries which had *supplanted* a pre-Norman parish church. Apart from the purely patriotic feeling, great dissatisfaction had been aroused

against the conventual life on account of the doctrinal abuses already referred to, which were protected chiefly and most offensively by the celibate orders. Their rules were severe enough, had they been properly observed, but the spirit of them was constantly violated. As time went on each order became worldly, and its members, instead of leading secluded lives apart from the busy haunts of men, mixed freely in society; and so the chief reason of their foundation was annulled. There is no need to recount in detail the misdeeds recorded against them; suffice it to say that charges of immorality, hypocrisy, and luxurious living were proved against the majority up to the hilt, and not denied. If vows of chastity, self-denial, and poverty could not furnish safeguards against breaches of the moral law they deserved to be done away. The acknowledged bad character of many who professed excessive piety brought all religion into discredit; and the notorious scandals to which they gave rise, combined with the attempts made by "foreign" houses to denationalise the English Church, made all true-hearted Englishmen hail with satisfaction the various acts of parliament by which our land was rid of their evil influences. The celibate system was condemned as a diseased limb of the Church, needing to be cut off to ensure the safety of its main trunk. We record its decay with much regret; because the system had been productive of much that was good and useful in earlier times, without which our Church would have had few good works to boast of then. It had been a most efficient missionary agency, and an exceedingly useful means of consolidating the Church. A large number of historians, theologians, teachers, and sincere Christians had been trained by it; and it was the foster-mother of art, literature, and science. As architects, carvers in wood, stone, and metal, workers in mosaic, and painters upon glass, the monks were once unrivalled. Their houses had been the centres of civilisation, social intercourse, hospitality and safe shelter in days when roads were bad, hotels unknown, and districts thinly populated; and their relief of the sick and indigent was liberal and extensive. Many must have regretted that these invaluable services should have to cease; but monasticism had come to be looked upon as worn out and effete, chiefly through its own most grievous fault, and it had to pay the penalty of its follies. Fortunately the system was not necessary to the Church's vitality, nor was her continuous life affected by the suppression. National and anti-national foundations alike were overwhelmed in the

general dissolution; but while the "foreign" monasteries were all destroyed absolutely, so that nothing remains of them save here and there a pile of ruined masonry (as in our accompanying illustration of the Cistercian abbey church at Tintern-on-the-Wye,) to testify their former grandeur, many of the old pre-Norman minsters continued to be used for the services of the Church of England.



RUINS OF TINTERN ABBEY (CISTERCIAN).

2. The first suppression.—There were many precedents for the suppression of religious houses. The Knights Templars were dissolved in the year 1307 (see page 183); the alien priories had followed suit in 1416 (see page 256); several bishops had founded colleges out of monasteries which they had thought to suppress (see page 258); and Cardinal Wolsey had dissolved forty of several orders in different parts of England years before the general break-up of the system. Only careless people imagine Henry VIII. to be the originator of the plan by which the monasteries were ruined. What we may rightly assign to the charge of that king and his agents is the summary ejection of monks and nuns from their old homes, and the forcible

alienation of monastic revenues to secular uses, without due care and respect for the interests involved. The easy descent of unprincipled men from one depth of iniquity to another is aptly illustrated by the increasing covetousness of those who were responsible for the general dissolution. When Wolsey suppressed any religious houses he desired to provide some more efficient means of carrying out the good work they were supposed to do ; but while his example was followed in the method of suppressing the remainder, the direction in which the revenues and estates were applied was quite different. The work began by the appointment of a royal commission to visit and inquire into the general character of all monasteries, especially as to *their foundation*, the tenor of their rules, *what benefices had been alienated to them*, and how they were served. Several houses were at once surrendered to the king by the inmates, which we may consider as an admission of guilt. The result of the visitation was a startling record of mischief wrought by monks and friars in their private and professional capacities. No doubt the report was exaggerated, but after allowing a large margin for the inventiveness of the commissioners more than enough remained to demand immediate action. Whereupon the commons reluctantly assented to a bill (27 Hen. VIII., c. 28) by which all congregations of religious persons under the number of twelve, or of a less annual value than £200, were granted to the crown absolutely. When that bill was submitted to the house of lords it met with no opposition from the mitred abbots and bishops ;¹ a curious sign of the times. Provision was made in the act for pensioning some of the monks, and for transferring others to "such honourable and great monasteries of this realm, wherein good religion is observed, as shall be limited by the king." Some 375 houses were dissolved under that statute ; their aggregate yearly revenue being £32,000, and the estimated capital value of their buildings, plate, and furniture, £100,000 more. The purchasing power of money then was about twelve times more than it is now. Henry VIII. was empowered by the statute to refound such houses as he thought fit, but it does not appear that he made much use of the privilege. A special department of state was created to deal with the proceeds of the suppression, called the "*Court of Augmentation of the King's Revenue*," which disposed of the buildings and estates to the best

¹ The house of lords comprised only ninety-two peers at that time, including 20 bishops, and 28 abbots or priors, so that the spiritual lords had a majority.

advantage for the king and his courtiers ; but nothing was reserved for religious or educational purposes. Although the instructions to the commissioners appointed to enforce the act read fair enough, there are very sad contemporary records of the ruthless methods they adopted in despoiling the monasteries of their treasures and driving out the inmates. But the commissioners were not alone to blame. Instead of receiving sympathy the disturbed inmates found that the people rejoiced in their fall. The peasantry readily assisted in destroying the buildings, that they might purchase the contents and materials at far less than real value ; and there was a general scramble for the spoil. But when the monks had gone, and their houses were left desolate, some symptoms of regret began to appear.

3. The pilgrimage of grace.—A.D. 1536-37.—A large number of the inmates welcomed release from their vows, and readily accepted a secular life on retiring pensions. They saw that their houses must go, and knew they had been hypocritical, and they naturally made the best terms they could with the commissioners. But on the other hand there were very many who resisted the new law ; and when compulsorily expelled revealed the “anti-national” spirit of their order by wandering about the country, especially in Yorkshire and Lincolnshire, stirring up the people to open rebellion. They pretended to be the real defenders of Church and realm, and clamoured for the removal of the “low-born and evil counsellors” who had suggested the suppression to the king. Several disaffected nobles joined the movement, and many more secretly aided it with funds, but the processions were everywhere headed by deprived monks and friars carrying crosses, banners, censers, etc., who strove to give the rebellion a religious character by declaring in their speeches that the “grace of God” was with them. Hence their movement was called the *pilgrimage of grace*. It speedily grew to proportions that endangered the



A CARTHUSIAN.

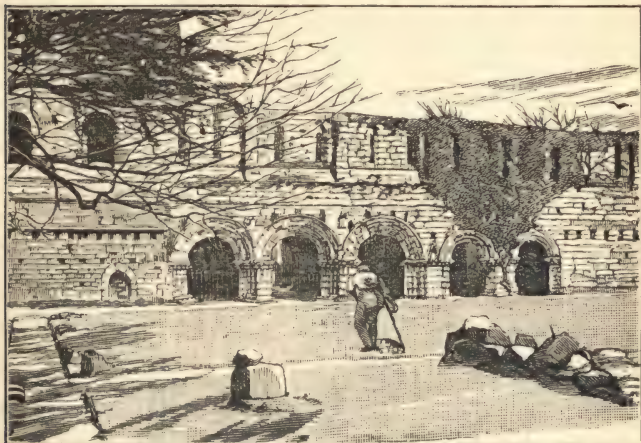
public peace, and had to be put down by force of arms. Many people were led to believe the exaggerated statements of the monks until they heard the other side; but when the king sent heralds through the country to explain the real causes which made the dissolution needful, the rebellion collapsed and the ringleaders were executed. Here is an extract from Henry's proclamation:—"As concerning points of religion and observance the king hath done nothing, but the whole clergy of the provinces of York and Canterbury have determined the same to be conformable to God's holy word and testament." This may help to set at rest the erroneous idea that Henry VIII. was solely responsible for Church reform.

There is indeed abundant evidence to show that the reforms were made, not by consent of the secular clergy only, but with the approval also of very many sober-minded and patriotic monks. But while agreeing that it was righteous and wise to suppress evil corporations which were opposed to the peace and dignity of the realm, and to the interests of religion, the Church had no official share in the merciless methods adopted by the king's avaricious agents. Included among the rebel leaders and supporters of the "pilgrimage of grace" were several chiefs of larger houses which had long been exempt by papal authority from episcopal control, such as the abbots of Whalley and Jervaulx, and the priors of Woburn and Burlington—all Cistercian monasteries. The commissioners arrested them for treason, and they were executed. That led to a second and more searching visitation among the greater monasteries which did not come within the letter of the act of 1536. Seeing that the system could be pointed at as harbouring traitors, a way was open for the commissioners to intimidate the wealthier bodies; but it was necessary to prepare the public mind for their complete destruction, lest a worse rebellion should break out. That was done by publicly exposing and ridiculing the artifices by which many monks and friars had deluded the simple and superstitious into making votive offerings at the shrines in their churches. For instance, at the shrine of "Our Lady of Walsingham" it was given out that some congealed milk from the breasts of the Virgin might be seen—for a suitable consideration, of course—which was proved to be "chalk or white-lead." Also there was a famous crucifix at Boxley, in Kent, which had long awed the credulous by bowing its head and rolling its eyes when any votaries approached; and that became a laughing-stock of the time when Hilsey, bishop of Rochester, had it

taken to London and the springs which governed its movements laid bare to the public in St. Paul's churchyard. Many other delusions of like character, and the preposterous virtues ascribed to relics, were examined in plain common-sense fashion until the people were angered at the deceptions practised on them. In short, it was a time of education. The history of Archbishop Becket was re-written in order to show that he was a rebel against his king, and not a saint at all ; so that the populace might not cry out against the demolition of his shrine and the seizure of its treasures for the king's exchequer. Clever and not over-scrupulous agents had the matter in hand, and they left no stone unturned by which disgrace might fall upon monasteries.

4. The final suppression.—It soon became apparent that monasticism in England was doomed, and chiefly for the enrichment of flattering courtiers who gladly seized upon and niggardly retained its possessions. The fear of being arrested for treason (coupled with the hope of pensions, and offices in cathedral or parochial churches for the ordained inmates) caused many abbots and priors to surrender their houses to the king. The commissioners said that they were constantly in receipt of petitions from inmates, of both sexes, begging to be dismissed from their vows and allowed to adopt the secular habit ; and by the end of 1538 very few monasteries continued to flourish. But the act of 1536 did not contemplate the surrender of the greater monasteries, and discontent was beginning to be felt that nothing was taking their place. Therefore it was enacted (31 Hen. VIII., c. 9), "that the ill lives of those that were called religious made it necessary to change their houses to better uses, for teaching the word of God, instructing of children, educating of clerks [clergy], relieving of old infirm people, the endowing of readers for Greek, and Latin, and Hebrew, *mending of highways*, and the bettering the condition of the parish priests." By that act the king was empowered to found new bishoprics and assign their limits and divisions. Possibly the statute was drafted in good faith, but changes in the government before it came into operation prevented the accomplishment of its good intent. But it served the king's purpose by giving a show of reason for another statute (31 Hen. VIII., c. 13) confirming and regulating the transfers of larger monasteries which the commissioners had been able to acquire by voluntary surrender or in any other way. By that new law the remaining monasteries were soon obtained. If priors and abbots would not resign or surrender, charges could easily

be brought against them under one or other of the numerous treason statutes and anti-papal acts—the character of the evidence was not very critically examined—and sometimes men were condemned on suspicion and unheard. By the dissolution of their houses mitred abbots were deprived of their seats in parliament, and ever since that time temporal peers have had a majority in the house of lords. Of the greater monasteries suppressed, 379 followed the Benedictine, Cluniac, and Augustinian rules; and 276 belonged to Cistercian, Carthusian, and minor “foreign” orders. The voluntary surrenders came chiefly from the former, *i. e.* from the rulers of the *ancient* houses



FURNESS ABBEY (ORIGINALLY BENEDICTINE).

(which were founded long before the papal usurpations) who were in favour of Church reform. It is impossible for a moment to justify the barbarous treatment meted out to Carthusians by Henry's commissioners. They certainly were cruelly dealt with according to our ideas of the value of human life. But in those days the mere suspicion of treason was enough to hang a man; and we must not forget that the Carthusians were staunch upholders of the papal claims, and that their vows compelled them to refuse assent to any civil authority. They were convicted for treason, just as Bishop Fisher and Sir Thomas More had been. It was the same with the Cistercians

and the friars. And it is a singular fact that no Carthusian, Cistercian, friary, or other "foreign" monastery church has ever been used for the worship of the reformed Church of England, except in one or two rare instances where the imported order supplanted and appropriated the old parish church, and even there it will be found that the essentially monastic portion of the church, *i. e.* the chancel, is destroyed, and that only the nave, in which parishioners were always allowed to worship, has been retained for their use. Many readers will at once recall a number of ruined Benedictine abbeys such as Glastonbury, Reading, Whitby, and Lindisfarne. But the same rule applies to them. They had obtained from the bishop of Rome exemption from the control of their own diocesan ; and they were either convicted of complicity in the "pilgrimage of grace" rebellion, or they refused to obey the laws relating to the king's supremacy, or would not afford the commissioners facilities for visiting monasteries. Upon some such charge they would be condemned by the chief commissioner, their estates declared confiscate and their churches demolished. The second visitation of the monasteries was undertaken with the express purpose of examining how the inmates stood affected towards the bishop of Rome, and how they promoted the king's supremacy. By the end of 1539 monasticism had practically ceased in England. The knights hospitallers' was the last important order dissolved, and as they resolutely refused to give up their houses or renounce allegiance to Rome a special act (32 Hen. VIII., c. 24) was obtained to make them. A few specially exempted houses of good repute were allowed to continue during the life of Henry VIII., as also were several hospitals and monastic colleges ; but by virtue of an act passed towards the end of the reign (37 Hen. VIII., c. 4) they also came to an end. The annual income of the greater monasteries was said to be £131,607, and the capital value of the buildings and movables over £400,000, all which sums should be multiplied by twelve to get at the modern value.

5. The king's vicar-general.—Henry's chief agent in the destruction of the monasteries was *Thomas Cromwell*—always to be distinguished from Oliver Cromwell who lived more than a century later, and who, like Thomas, sought personal advancement out of the wrecks of institutions he destroyed. He had been confidential secretary to Cardinal Wolsey, had assisted to suppress the monasteries Wolsey had condemned, and therefore had the technical knowledge requisite for the work. Through his patron's influence he obtained a

seat in parliament, and when the bill of attainder against Wolsey was brought in he defended his late master with such elquence that the bill was thrown out. His brilliant advocacy, and opposition to the papal claims, brought him rapid promotion, and he is supposed to have framed the new statutes by which regal supremacy was restored to England. It was to be expected that Henry VIII. would appoint him to see that their provisions were properly carried out. His political career depended on the success of Church reform. In every way possible he sought to make the king's supremacy popular. He it was who compassed the ruin of Bishop Fisher and Sir Thomas More, and drafted the terrible treason statute (26 Hen. VIII., c. 13) under which they were beheaded ; and which he subsequently applied against refractory monks. When the public would not be satisfied without an English Bible he employed Miles Coverdale to correct and complete Tyndall's version by the Vulgate, and took care that the king should have the honour. So exceedingly clever a man, prompt and remorseless in all his dealings, exactly suited Henry ; who delegated to him his spiritual jurisdiction under the title of *vicar-general*¹ (1535), and afterwards by a special act (31 Hen.



THOMAS CROMWELL.

VIII., c. 10) *lord vicegerent*, with precedence next to the royal family. That position gave Thomas Cromwell autocratic and irresponsible power over the bishops and clergy. It was a power similar to that of extraordinary legates of the pope—an external authority imposed upon the long-suffering Church by its acknowledged head on earth—only much greater, because of the ease by which he could enforce the death penalty. Had Thomas Cromwell lived, and retained those great powers, it is possible the Church might have lost many of its rights and privileges ; but his time was so occupied

¹ "A title certainly novel and sounded ill, but there was no evidence that it was intended in a heterodox sense."—Palmer's *Church of Christ*, vol. i. p. 467.

with dissolving and plundering the monasteries prior to his disgrace and death that the Church suffered little from his tyranny in other directions. His avarice and cruel treatment of the monks, some of whom he condemned first and sent for trial afterwards, is in every way reprehensible. He enriched himself and his friends by taking bribes on every hand and shared the spoils of many monasteries among his near relations. But like most of Henry's agents his career was brilliant and brief. He lost the king's favour by saddling him with an ugly wife, and Henry revenged himself by charging Cromwell, then earl of Essex, with the shortcomings of an unpopular administration. A bill of attainder brought him to the block in 1540, and they were few who pitied him.



NEWSTEAD ABBEY (CISTERCIAN).

6. Distribution of monastic estates.—There were several reasons why satisfaction at the fall of the monastic system was not unmingled with regret, chief among them being the disposition of the revenues and estates acquired by the court of augmentation. It was doubted at the time whether the monks had any right to surrender absolutely estates in which they had only a life interest, and the sacred character of such property served to increase the growing opposition. To appease the people it was given out that the monastic revenues would prevent any more taxes being levied; but to satisfy the nobles, who knew better, the proceeds of the plunder were shared among them.

The parochial clergy, who had been receiving vicarial tithes from the abbeys, were told that the obligations of the monasteries would be transferred to the new owners of abbey lands, but those obligations were so often evaded that many clergy were reduced to sore distress. It was a far-seeing policy to make gifts of monastic possessions or sell them on easy terms to the nobility, because it became impossible for any future government to restore the property without impoverishing its own supporters. Many of the nobles had a reasonable claim to share in the distribution, if the determination to secularise the property was irrevocable, on the ground that their ancestors had founded the houses that were dissolved. But if antiquity was to be considered a valid claim, the parish clergy had the oldest title, because most of the tithes by which monasteries were maintained had belonged to parish churches before even the Norman nobility (who alienated them to the monasteries) came into the country. But "in no one instance were the appropriated tithes restored to the parochial clergy" (*Hallam*). They were transferred to various laymen, along with the monastic estates, and have ever since been bought and sold, inherited and willed away, the same as any other species of secular property. That is how many parochial rectorial tithes have come into the possession of the present lay-impropriators. One of the most notorious fallacies of modern times is the notion that the property taken from the monasteries was given by Henry VIII. to the bishops and parochial clergy. Nothing of the sort ever happened. Much of the ready-money receipts was squandered recklessly by the king upon his creatures, but the bulk of the real estate passed into the hands of temporal peers. Thus three rich abbeys enabled Lord Russell to found the earldom of Bedford; seven others endowed Thomas Cromwell's earldom of Essex. The duke of Norfolk, who disliked the dissolution, was silenced by thirteen more; and the king's brother-in-law, Charles Brandon, enriched his dukedom of Suffolk by no less than thirty. Courtiers of lesser note obtained single monasteries for their obsequiousness, as when *Newstead-abbey* was granted to Sir John Byron, and when a woman received the revenue of a convent because of her skill in making the king's puddings. In order to get rid of the obligation to pay pensions to the expelled monks and friars, the new holders of abbey lands often presented ordained celibates to benefices in their patronage that fell vacant, because no beneficed priest was entitled to such pensions. Many wealthy city merchants purchased the estates

that then glutted the market, thus greatly increasing the number of landed gentry; and, on the whole, apart from the unjust dealing towards the parochial churches, the redistribution of property so long held by an indolent and privileged class, and the consequent circulation of money, was productive of lasting good to the country at large. But no amount of beneficial results can acquit the suppressors of wanton cruelty, injustice, and sacrilege. It has often been said that the laymen who received monastic estates were pursued by singular fatalities.

"They tell us that the Lord of hosts will not avenge his own;

They tell us that He careth not for temples overthrown:

Go! look through England's thousand vales, and show me, he that may,

The abbey lands that have not wrought their owner's swift decay."—NEALE.

In this practical age the fulfilment of anathemas may be considered superstitious, and the troubles that pursued the Tudor nobility may be accounted for on quite different grounds, but it must always seem remarkable that the curses prophesied in ancient times against any who should afterwards violate ecclesiastical revenues, lands, and buildings, or alienate them to secular uses, were fulfilled.

7. Monastic churches made cathedral.—One great result of the dissolution was the creation of six new bishoprics—Westminster in 1540, Chester, Gloucester, and Peterborough in 1541, Oxford and Bristol in 1543; the old abbey churches being preserved as the cathedrals. On the translation of the first bishop of Westminster to Norwich that bishopric was suppressed, thus leaving five new sees which have remained and flourished to this day. At first sight this looks like a handsome *bonus* to the national Church, but on closer consideration it appears but scant justice. The custom of the olden time, according to the spirit of the ninth canon of the council of Hertford, was to augment the number of bishoprics as the faithful increased. But there had been no increase in the episcopate for centuries. Every effort had been made to augment the number of monasteries, in order to strengthen the position of the bishop of Rome and weaken the English Church; and although mitred abbots were continually being created, there had not been any new bishoprics founded from the days when *Carlisle* received that honour in the reign of Henry I. In the earlier days the abbots were often selected to be bishops. When abbots came to be ranked as the social equal of a bishop there was no inducement to proceed to the higher ecclesiastical dignity. The diocesan system was therefore in danger of

becoming extinct by inanition. But when the monasteries were suppressed, and the place of abbots could no longer be found, the inmates of "national" monasteries gladly reverted to the ancient customs; and agreed to accept positions in the cathedrals and parish churches, which they retained during the next two reigns. Here again the argument of this chapter is justified—for all the monastery churches that then



CHESTER CATHEDRAL (*see next page*).

became cathedral churches were of pre-Norman origin. The early history of Westminster-abbey will be found on page 134. The early Saxon church at *Bristol* was re-constituted as an Augustinian priory at the Conquest and had continued firmly loyal to its diocesan. The growing importance of that city and district was a sufficient reason for the new creation. Oxford cathedral (*see page 451*) has the same tale to tell. Its stones speak to us of the Norman builders, but its history carries us

far back into Saxon times, when St. Frideswide founded her nunnery at Oseney, which was supplanted by an home for Augustinian canons. That old priory of Oseney was first selected as the "bishop's stool," but it was very soon removed to Christchurch, as a fitting completion of the work of Cardinal Wolsey, with whom the idea of these new cathedrals originated. Oxford had earned a bishopric by the efforts the university made to clear the air when men's minds were full of doubt as to the propriety of renouncing papal supremacy; and it needed one to give *esprit de corps* to the numerous clergy and laity who were teachers and students there; but the chief reason was to relieve the diocese of Lincoln, which then extended to the Thames. *Chester cathedral* teaches a similar lesson. A Saxon lady named Werburgh founded the abbey, and it belonged to the Benedictine order. Being situated in a part of the land that once belonged to the kingdom of Mercia, it sometimes shared with Lichfield and Coventry the honour of being an episcopal seat, long before the Tudor times. The need for a bishopric for Chester and district will be readily granted, when it is remembered that the three large dioceses—enormous in population if not in acreage—of Ripon, Manchester, and Liverpool, have since been taken out of it. The abbey of St. Werburgh at Chester had supplanted a still older parochial church built by King Oswald. *Gloucester cathedral* (page 159) began its history as a monastery church in 681, when *Osric*, an under-king of Mercia, made his sister *Kyneburg* the first abbess. The original fabric fell a victim to the troubles that came upon the land through tribal strifes, but it was soon revived as a "secular" college, and so remained until, in the days of Cnut the great, Benedictine monks supplanted the secular canons. The rebuilding of the church began in the reign of Edward the confessor, and it was completed soon after the Norman conquest. The church has been altered since then; but much of the Norman church remains under the "perpendicular" casing. When the abbeys were suppressed and Gloucester was raised to cathedral rank, its inmates, and those of surrounding monasteries, were offered positions on the cathedral staff; and that was why *John Wakeman*, the last abbot of Tewkesbury, became the first bishop of Gloucester. *Peterborough cathedral* (page 279) is the most notable instance of the group, for it was founded in the seventh century, in memory of *Peada's* conversion, and when its rank was changed from an abbey to a cathedral there was no alteration whatever in the *personnel*. The abbot was made the

bishop, the prior became the dean, the monks became canons and choristers ; so that things went on just as before. The services were said from the same service books to the same congregations, and therefore there was not only no transfer from one set of persons to another with different views, but a clear continuance of the same persons in the same place under re-organised and revised rules. This proves that the great body of English churchmen—clergy, monks, and laity alike—were heartily in favour of the changes that were being made to cleanse



WIMBORNE MINSTER (see page 314).

and purify the national Church from worn-out rules of personal life, as well as from unauthorised dogma. And we note that this formation of new sees was not an endowment *de novo* out of papal monasteries ; but a tardy development of Saxon monasteries into the episcopal foundations they would have become centuries before, had not “foreign” influences caused the normal growth of our native episcopate to stop.

8. Monastic churches made “collegiate.”—Our cathedral chapters have been placed in two classes, viz. those of the “old foundation,” and those of the “new foundation.” The cathedrals of the old foundation are those which, being served by *secular canons*, were

not in the least degree interfered with by the reforms of Henry's reign, viz. Llandaff, Bangor, St. Davids, St. Asaph, Lichfield, York, London, Wells, Exeter, Salisbury, Chichester, Lincoln and Hereford. As there has never been any transference or interruption in the corporate life of those foundations, it cannot be maintained with any show of verity that the cathedral system of the national Church is modern. The cathedrals of the new foundation are those which were originally served by *monks*, and therefore dissolved in theory at the general



SOUTHWELL MINSTER.

suppression of religious houses. They were not dissolved *in fact*, but reconstituted as chapters of secular canons. They were Canterbury, Rochester, Winchester, Worcester, Durham, Norwich, Ely, and Carlisle. Almost invariably the same persons continued on as before, only under different titles. The bishops had all along been abbots *ex officio*, and sat in the abbots' seats in the chancels, the priors becoming the acting heads of the monasteries. By the new constitution the priors became deans as at Peterborough; and the other inmates canons, precentors, choristers, etc. Again we see that there was *no transference* of property, but the same people continued to enjoy the ancient revenues belonging to their corporate body, and perform the functions to which they had

been accustomed, as 'seculars' instead of 'regulars.' The five new sees referred to in the preceding section must be added to the cathedrals of the "new" foundation. There were many other inmates of "national" monasteries subject to their proper diocesan, who surrendered their houses and placed themselves at the king's disposal, who were offered positions in the cathedral and parochial systems, and the fact that very large numbers chose to accept such a change in their rules of life, shows that there was much in common between the clergy and the Benedictine monks. There had never been any difference between them as to modes of worship or fundamental doctrines. They were, and continued to be, members of one Church. The most important of the communities so submitting themselves to the king's mercy were made *collegiate bodies*. Eight of them have recently been raised to cathedral rank, viz. :—Ripon, Manchester, St. Albans, Truro, Liverpool, Newcastle, Southwell, and Wakefield. Collegiate churches still existing are to be found at Windsor, Heytesbury, Westminster, Middleham, Wolverhampton, and elsewhere, but most of the collegiate foundations have been suppressed quite lately by the powers entrusted to the ecclesiastical commissioners. The collegiate foundations attributed to Henry VIII. were intended to take the place of certain monastic colleges that were suppressed. But in each case the collegiate bodies were already in existence, even if under another name, and some of them had developed out of still older parochial foundations, and annexed the parish church.

9. Monastic churches now parochial.—Nothing can be more untrue than the statement that Henry VIII. took revenues and buildings from one set of clergy and gave them to another. Such a fabrication altogether ignores the historical certainty that the parochial and cathedral clergy, as such, or their representatives in convocation, were *not interfered with* in any way. We have been considering in this chapter the dissolution of monasteries, but not the destruction of the English Church; for although monasteries had been from the earliest times a part of the Church's system, it was not a vital part. But the diocesan and parochial systems were her very life-blood, her arterial and nervous organisation; and, as they were never intended to be interfered with, the old cathedrals and parish churches remained untouched in the days to which we have been referring. And wherever a minster church (as at Beverley or Pershore or Wimborne) remains in our possession, inquiry will show that it was originally founded either before or soon after the Norman conquest, when as yet the bishops of

Rome had not been allowed coercive jurisdiction in England. It is true that Henry VIII. made re-grants of some of these buildings, after he had first stolen them away, but it may be fairly maintained that he had no right to steal them. Moreover they were surrendered on the understanding

that they should be restored—in order that they might continue to be used as parish churches. Although valuable considerations were often given by parishioners to the king's agents for their interest in



PERSHORE ABBEY (FOUNDED A.D. 686).

the preservation of the old church, there is nothing whatever to show that any free gifts of money, lands, or tithes were granted to any parish out of the exchequer. All that can be said with certainty is that parishioners were allowed to *keep their own*. Most of the Benedictine and Augustinian monasteries had grown up round or out of the ancient parish churches, which the brethren used for their devotions; or, to speak more correctly, built suitable additions eastward—the transepts, for example, and the chancels; the parishioners continuing to worship in the naves. We find many instances throughout the country where, while the monastic portions of the churches were destroyed and remain in ruins, the naves are still used, as they had been from the beginning, as parish churches. So it would have been at Tewkesbury, had not the parishioners bought the monastic portion of the church for £4000; at which the commissioners estimated the value of the “superfluous buildings” on the estate. Many friends of the Church denied themselves of necessities at that time to preserve the sacred fanes of ancient “national” monasteries from total destruction. St. Alban's-abbey is another example. From the first existence of a church there the inhabitants had used the nave as their parish church, and they retained it when the dissolution came; even as the present parishioners do, now that it has become a cathedral.

10. Educational and charitable foundations.—The tithes of ancient parochial churches did not all go to laymen. The king was obliged to keep up an appearance of sincerity by doing something of a charitable nature with the plunder of great monasteries, and so a few grammar-schools were founded to continue educational work in places where the monks had been doing really useful work ; and Trinity-college was founded for Cambridge university, as Christchurch had been for Oxford. The monks and friars had supported many colleges for training youths and novices in their systems, but they were all suppressed by virtue of the statute (37 Hen. VIII., c. 4) which gave collegiate and chantry endowments to the king. The Oxford and Cambridge colleges which survived were all founded to *exclude* monks and friars. An example of the permanent alienation of parochial tithes and the injury done thereby to parishes may be found useful. The ancient Benedictine abbey of St. Mary at York had appropriated a vast amount of tithes belonging to numerous parishes in the northern counties. At the death of Henry VIII. the estates of that abbey were possessed by the crown, but Queen Mary fulfilled her father's declared intention by giving them to the master and fellows of Trinity-college, Cambridge, *with whom they still remain*. St. Mary's-abbey was obliged to provide for church services in the appropriated parishes, and they did so by appointing deputies (*vicars*) whom they remunerated with the lesser tithes.¹ Whatever obligations were attached to the ownership of tithes by the abbey, together with its ecclesiastical patronage, continued to attach to it when transferred, first to the crown and then to Trinity-college. Kirkby Lonsdale, *e.g.* was a parish so appropriated, and its tithe valuation is worth £1300 a year. Its clergy had been allowed by the abbey to receive the small tithes, which are worth about £300 a year ; and the clergy of that parish continue to receive the value of the small tithes, while Trinity-college receives about £1000 annually from the great tithes. So it is with all other rectorial great tithes now in the hands of laymen and corporations. The parishes are deprived of the difference between them and the vicarial tithes, which is often very considerable. Many old monasteries had been of considerable

¹ Tithes were of two classes :—*great* and *lesser*. The great or *rectorial* were tithes of produce, from such things as grow out of the earth—such as corn ; and the small or *vicarial* were tithes of produce from such things as are nourished on the earth—*i.e.* sheep, pigs, and poultry. Hops, fruit, and other so-called *extra-ordinary* tithes are also 'lesser' and vicarial. They were quite 'ordinary' until A.D. 1836.

benefit to England under the name of "hospitals." In the present day they would be more appropriately called "hotels" than homes for the relief of sickness. Doubtless some were exclusively for the benefit of sick folk, and two of the best—viz. St. Bartholomew's and St. Thomas's hospitals in London—were allowed to survive the general wreck, and continue their work of mercy, though not as religious houses. They have since been greatly increased in importance and usefulness by private voluntary gifts. It may be well to reiterate that in all cases where a secular foundation is said to have been founded out of the monasteries suppressed by Henry VIII. it can easily be shown to be, not a new



foundation out of some general fund, but an old foundation allowed to continue because it was loyal and obedient to the law. These observations do not apply to later charitable foundations like the *Charterhouse*. The monastery in Goswell-street from which it takes its name belonged to the Carthusian order. It was founded by virtue of a "bull" of Pope Urban VI., in the year 1360. It ceased to exist as a monastery in 1535, and the prior was executed for resisting the king's commissioners. The estates belonging to it were given by the king to the groom of his "hales (nets) and tents." The property was afterwards bought and sold, as any other land might be, confiscated by the crown again because of the treason of its subsequent holders, again granted by the crown to a nobleman, who sold it in the year 1600 to a London merchant, Sir Thomas Sutton, who founded a charity school for forty poor boys, and an almshouse for eighty old men (see page 491). That intention has since "developed" into a great public school where rich men's sons are educated. There is sufficient evidence in this chapter to prove that Henry VIII. did not take away the property of Romanists and bestow it upon "protestant" clergy. The estates possessed by upholders of papal supremacy were not transferred to the national Church at all. It was merely allowed to keep a portion of its own rightful property.

CHAPTER XIX. (A.D. 1547-1558)

THE REIGNS OF EDWARD VI. AND MARY

“Anathemas are hurled
From both sides; veteran thunders (the brute test
Of truth) are met by fulminations new—

See Latimer and Ridley, in the might
Of Faith, stand coupled for a common flight! . . .
Earth never witnessed object more sublime
In constancy, in fellowship more fair.”

1. The Edwardian council of regency.—Henry VIII. died on January 28, 1547, having previously devised the succession by will to his son Edward; and, in default of heirs, to his daughters Mary and Elizabeth in order. As Edward was but ten years old, Henry willed that sixteen executors should form a council of regency until the lad was eighteen years of age. Henry had all along striven to preserve the balance of parties, and he nominated to this council pronounced upholders of each class of religious opinion, obviously intending that there should be as little change as possible. But as it was found that the reforming party slightly predominated it soon obtained the highest offices and got rid of the minority, *Edward Seymour, duke of Somerset*, being made lord protector. Somerset led the reforming section of the council, and was strongly supported by Archbishop Cranmer. The opponents of Church reform were represented by Lord-chancellor *Wriothesley*, and Cuthbert Tonstall, then bishop of Durham. As the protector had a majority, he took care that the privy council appointed to assist the government should be favourable to his designs, and soon found means to expel his opponents. Bishops Gardiner and Bonner, whose high positions in the councils of the late king gave them reasonable expectation of a share in the regency, found themselves altogether unnoticed; and they, with the excluded members of the council, formed an opposition party, which seems to have advised the Princess Mary (for their statements and her expressed determination on religious questions were in accord), and they desired that no important alterations should be made until the young king came of age. Within the council also there was much strife and envying, and difference of opinion. Somerset did not seem to care much for religion, save that he

might enrich himself at its expense ; but *Lord Dudley*, afterwards duke of Northumberland, was an ardent believer in the reforming opinions that were making headway abroad. Both were, however, ready to sacrifice Church and realm to their own advantage. The majority of the council were in favour of increasing the power and prerogatives of the crown, that their own delegated authority might be the greater. The first act of the council was to call upon all official persons in the realm to renew their commissions and swear allegiance, the members of it setting the example. Among them came the bishops, who again agreed to hold their sees during the king's pleasure and perform jurisdiction in his name. During Henry's reign, and owing to the statute of the 'six articles,' the doctrines of the Church were not much altered ; but there were many persons whom it had kept in check who were prepared for the most violent extremes. Cranmer's chaplain, *Dr. Ridley*, indiscreetly suggested in a sermon that all images should be destroyed ; and some zealots, estimating his words as an indication of the way the government was tending, at once proceeded to demolish the statuary and stained glass that adorned the churches. Bishop Gardiner protested to the protector Somerset against such outrage, and a proclamation was issued to maintain peace and protect the churches. It was soon evident that the council intended, if possible, to dictate on Church matters without reference to convocation ; but the latter upheld its dignity (November 1547) by claiming its proper legislative functions. And none too soon ; for in August, before parliament and convocation could meet, the council had instituted a *general visitation of England* in the king's name, providing the commissioners with numerous *injunctions* by which they were instructed to inquire into the religious provisions of every parish, remove any images which had been superstitiously adored, and to see that Bibles of the largest volume, together with the paraphrases of Erasmus on the gospels, were pro-



EDWARD THE SIXTH.

vided in each church. The visitors were also to make provision for periodical sermons against the bishop of Rome and in favour of the king's supremacy ; and other sermons once a quarter "purely and sincerely declaring the word of God." All unlicensed preaching was forbidden ; and a *book of homilies*, said to have been composed by Cranmer, Latimer, and Ridley, was ordered to be read instead. Bishops Gardiner and Bonner made energetic protests against the visitation, and were sent to prison by the council. Bonner withdrew his protest and was released ; but Gardiner remained firm and was kept confined, until parliament met in November and passed an act of general pardon in commemoration of the new king's accession.

2. Suppression of the chantries.—Reference has been made (page 254) to the chantry chapels, which were built for the purpose of propitiatory services for the departed. By the statute 37 Henry VIII. cap. 4, the late king was empowered to suppress them, together with other charitable foundations ; but as very few were suppressed before the death of Henry, the protector Somerset and his co-executors soon made up their minds to enrich themselves, and discharge their liabilities to the late king's creditors, by rigorously carrying out the provisions of that statute on the plea of reclaiming the funds so appropriated from superstitious uses. Soon after their first parliament was called together, they succeeded in passing a statute (1 Ed. VI., c. 14) which granted to the crown the revenues of all "chantries, fraternities, hospitals, and colleges" still remaining ; with the exception of the colleges at Oxford, Cambridge, Eton, and Winchester. The chief reason for the suppression of colleges, etc., was to do away with such as had been founded by the religious orders as nurseries and auxiliaries for their houses. As previously stated, all colleges which survive had been founded with the express purpose of excluding monks and friars from their benefits ; but as many collegiate institutions belonging to the seculars were also suppressed, that could not have been the only reason. With them as with the monasteries, it will be found on examination that those which survived assented to the royal supremacy and the divorce of Queen Catharine, and in other ways endeavoured to advance the cause of Church reform. With reference to the statement often made that the revenues of chantries (having been bequeathed for purposes which the Church of England then and now declares blasphemous and deceitful) ought not to be held by the Church as part of her endowments ; it is sufficient to say that no part of the chantry revenues

came into the possession of the parochial clergy at all. It was not the Tudor practice to give the Church anything. The chantry revenues were always kept distinct from parochial endowments, just as minor charities in many parishes still are, so that it was an easy matter to seize upon them. Several thousand benefactions were confiscated. The act provided that the proceeds should be used for endowing grammar-schools, and increasing the incomes of vicarages which the suppression of monasteries had impoverished, but the money was applied by the council to liquidate King Henry's debts and satisfy their own cupidity. And that is not the worst. Somerset caused to be granted to himself and his immediate friends the revenues of many cathedral dignities also ; and pulled down city churches, and a cloister of St. Paul's cathedral, to obtain stone for his palace of *Somerset-house*, in the Strand ; and was only prevented from doing the like to Westminster-abbey by the dean's sacrifice of half its revenues. All those things were done by avaricious councillors in the name of the royal supremacy, without any apparent apprehension of the difference between things sacred and profane. The principle that guided them is now called *Erastianism* : after a Swiss physician named Erastus, who a little later on denied any Divine organisation in the Church ; and held it to be a mere creature of the state, dependent thereon for its existence and authority. While the highest officers in the realm were wantonly destroying and appropriating holy things, we cannot wonder at sacrilegious acts recorded of the people. Several marble coffins in which people had been buried were made into troughs for horses to drink from, altar cloths and vestments were adapted to domestic purposes, and eucharist vessels were used for ordinary eating and drinking. It was a harvest time for thieves and a high holiday for the profane. Later in the reign things went from bad to worse. Episcopal manors were seized upon by a system of forced exchanges, to the great impoverishment of the sees ; patrons of benefices and impropiators of tithes withheld the incomes of vicars ; and on a weak pretence the protector Northumberland appropriated the whole revenues of the bishopric of Durham. Ultimately a regular plan was formulated for defrauding the episcopate ; but the young king had by that time begun to take a more responsible part in the conduct of affairs, and it was vetoed. He said :—" You have had among you the abbey, which you have consumed in superfluous apparel and dice and cards, and now you would have the bishops' lands and revenues

to abuse likewise ! Set your hearts at rest ; there shall no such alteration take place while I live." In consequence of a sermon by Bishop Ridley, Edward was led before his death to do something for the London poor. In conjunction with the lord mayor a comprehensive scheme was drawn up to relieve some of their wants. The grey friars monastery in what is now Newgate-street was converted into what we call '*Christ's Hospital*,' for educating children of poor citizens ; St. Bartholomew's and St. Thomas's hospitals were reconstituted with



EDWARD VI.'S SCHOOL AT BIRMINGHAM.

augmented endowments to relieve the sick poor ; and the royal palace of *Bridewell* was turned into a house of correction for the vagabond poor. A number of grammar-schools were also incorporated in various parts of the country, now known as the "King's" schools, or King Edward VI.'s schools—as at Birmingham. Schools were naturally suggested as an appropriate way of spending some of the money that came to the treasury from suppressed colleges and chantries, for chantry priests had often been engaged in tuition of the village children.

3. The Liturgy.¹—Amid such wholesale cupidity and irreverent sacrilege it is cheering to find that some useful and lasting work was done by a committee appointed by convocation, in 1542, to revise and translate the ancient service-books. The first convocations of Edward's reign met in 1547, and at once proceeded to the eucharist controversy by condemning the practice of withholding the chalice from the laity, and advising parliament to pass a statute (1 Ed. VI., c. 1) to enforce communion in both kinds. The resolution passed convocation November 30, and the bill received royal assent December 10. A committee of convocation under Archbishop Cranmer had been engaged since 1546 in a revision of the Latin *Missal*, and a form for the communion service was issued in March 1548. It left the old Latin service intact up to the reception of the elements by the celebrant, but added an English form for the communion of the people in both kinds. Its use dated from Easter 1548. That was only a tentative arrangement, for later in the year the committee which had been working since 1542 submitted the result of their labours to convocation in the form of the *First English Prayer-book*.² It was quickly approved, and an act of uniformity applied for from parliament to enforce its use in all churches on and after the following Whit Sunday. It had passed both houses by January 21, and received the royal assent just before Edward had completed the second year of his reign (2 & 3 Ed. VI., c.1). Archbishop Cranmer was the chief of the revising committee, and spared no pains to obtain the opinions of all sections of reforming divines at home and abroad as aids to its discussions. "The principles which guided the Prayer-book revisers were very simple. In doctrinal matters they took for their standard of orthodoxy the Bible and the belief of the Church for the first five centuries; in framing formularies for the conduct of public worship they retained whatsoever they could of the old service-books; in ritual matters they continued to follow the traditions of their own Church, deviating from them only where spiritual edification rendered such deviation necessary. Their object was not to revolutionise, but to reform; not to get so far away as possible from the Church of Rome, or from any other Church, but, by retracing the steps whereby the primitive Church of England had

¹ The word 'liturgy' is here used loosely for the Prayer-book in general, although it strictly belongs to the communion-office. For further study of the liturgy see Daniel's *History of the Prayer-book*, 6s.; and the *Prayer-book Commentary*. S.P.C.K. 1s.

² Reprints are now sold of both the Edwardian English Prayer-books at 1s. each.

'fallen from herself,' to return to Catholic faith and practice." (*Daniel*.) A complete contemporary statement of the Edwardian revisers' motives may be found in the chapter entitled "Concerning the service of the Church," at the beginning of our present Prayer-book, which was the preface to the first English book; and in the following chapter "Of ceremonies," then printed at the end of the book. The new Prayer-book was not acceptable to many parish priests;—least of all to those who had sometime been inmates of religious houses, some of whom were quite untrained for pastoral work, and therefore not properly qualified for the position—and those who disapproved of any alteration in the conventional way of conducting public worship stirred up ill-feeling against the book by an irreverent and ludicrous sing-song rendering of it, so that people thought it was "like a Christmas game." It wanted very little then to make the working classes express discontent. The large demand for wool had turned the greater part of England into sheep farms, thus reducing the amount of field labour; and wages were paid in debased coin which advanced the price of necessities. We read therefore of rebellions in the eastern counties and the west of England, in which social and religious grievances were curiously mixed up. The Devonshire rebels petitioned for the suppression of the Bible, and the continuance of the old Latin services; until Cranmer explained that the new book was only the ancient services in an English dress. The East-Anglian rising was quelled by Lord Dudley, and the western rebellion by Lord Russell; but not without much difficulty and bloodshed, and the hanging of the ringleaders; with which however the Church had nothing to do. Protector Somerset was then impeached for encouraging the rebels, and maladministration generally; and was succeeded by the duke of Northumberland. The great body of clergy and people had welcomed the appearance of the first English Prayer-book; but in order to give



ARCHBISHOP CRANMER.

effect to the act of uniformity a second visitation was ordered by the council in the autumn of 1549. The instructions to the commissioners plainly showed that the leanings of the new protector were in favour of a still more rapid and vigorous reform, in the direction of extreme Calvinism, and when bishops and clergy of "the old learning" declined to conform to such novel demands, on the ground that the council had no right to exercise the royal supremacy during the king's minority, they were deprived and imprisoned. The jurisdiction of bishops was suspended during both these visitations.

4. The Edwardian bishops.—The second act of parliament passed in Edward's reign (1 Ed. VI., c. 2) had interfered with the customary method of appointing bishops, by abolishing the *congé d'élire*



BISHOP LATIMER.

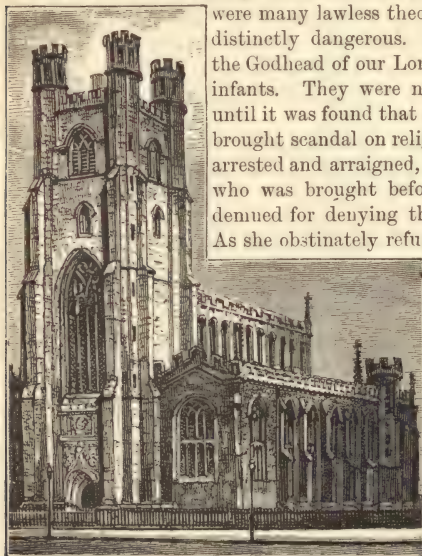
hitherto granted to cathedral chapters, and enacting that all bishops should be consecrated on receipt of "royal letters patent" solely. The act also provided that all episcopal acts pertaining to jurisdiction should be done in the king's name; and declared the episcopal office to be tenable during the king's pleasure only, or during good behaviour instead of during life as formerly. Under those new powers the council was able to deprive all bishops who were unwilling to sanction its policy. The Prayer-book contained no services for ordination, but the old pontifical (page 291) was revised and

translated by a committee of twelve, six being bishops, and their work was completed by February 1559. In most things that are done by committees a minority decline to give unqualified assent to all details of the work; and when the new ordinal was laid before the council, *Nicholas Heath*, bishop of Worcester, expressed his disagreement with some things his colleagues had inserted or omitted; though he promised to obey its

provisions. The council therefore imprisoned him, and another bishop, *George Day* of Chichester, was sent to keep him company for objecting to use either the ordinal or the Prayer-book. Both those bishops were deprived under the above statute by a joint commission of clergy and laity; Day's place being taken by *John Scory* (1552), and the see of Worcester given to *John Hooper*, to hold in commendam with that of Gloucester. Several other bishops were deprived for resisting the council, viz. *Edmund Bonner*, bishop of London (1550), whose place was filled by *Nicholas Ridley*, translated from Rochester; *Stephen Gardiner*, bishop of Winchester (1551), who was succeeded by *John Poynt*, also translated from Rochester; *Cuthbert Tonstall*, bishop of Durham, whose place was not filled up because the revenues of the see had been confiscated by the protector; and *John Voysey*, bishop of Exeter, who resigned his see to his suffragan *Miles Coverdale* in 1551, and was imprisoned for alleged complicity in the Devonshire rebellion. Gardiner and Tonstall were sent to the Tower, Bonner to the Marshalsea prison, Heath and Day to the Fleet. Other bishops appointed through ordinary vacancies in Edward's reign were *Robert Ferrar* to St. Davids, 1548, and *John Taylor* to Lincoln, 1552; the other translations being *William Barlow* from St. Asaph to Bath and Wells, 1548, *Thomas Thirlby* from Westminster to Norwich, 1550, and *Henry Holbeach* from Rochester to Lincoln in 1547. Much trouble was caused when Hooper was appointed by the council to the see of Gloucester in 1550. He had been a Cistercian monk, but accepted reformation principles at the dissolution. During the reaction at the close of Henry's reign he took refuge with Calvin at Geneva, and imbibed the revolutionary ideas of the latter. On his return he became noted for extreme opinions, and it was much against Cranmer's wish that he was nominated to the bishopric. When the time came for consecration Hooper declined to be robed as the ordinal directed, on the ground that all vestments were superstitious, and "relics of Judaism." The council wanted Cranmer to consecrate without them, but the primate declined. Every effort was made to change the mind of the obstinate nominee, but in vain. He was therefore ordered to keep his house, and abstain from preaching or publishing anything. He treated the order with contempt, and suffered for his folly by being committed to the Fleet prison. Two months' confinement was more efficacious than all the arguments, and he was consecrated in full canonicals, March, 1551. The six articles statute of Henry's reign

had withdrawn the permission for clergy to marry ; but it was repealed, with other repressive measures, by 1 Ed. VI., c. 12. Convocation then obtained a new act (2 Ed. VI., c. 21), permitting but discouraging clerical matrimony, which was rendered less objectionable by a further act later on (5 & 6 Ed. VI., c. 12). A large number of clergy and most bishops availed themselves of the privilege, but their wives were very lightly esteemed by the public for a long time thereafter.

5. Foreign religious reformers.—England soon became a home of refuge for foreign protestants. The church of Austin friars, in the city of London, was given to exiled *Dutch reformers*, who were presided over by *John A' Lasco* ; the crypt of Canterbury cathedral was appropriated to refugees from France under the same presidency ; and part of Glastonbury-abbey was appropriated to German exiles, under *Pollanus* of Strasburg. Besides such protected congregations there



ST. MARY'S CHURCH, CAMBRIDGE.

were many lawless theorists whose opinions were distinctly dangerous. *Anabaptists*, e.g. denied the Godhead of our Lord and refused baptism to infants. They were not much interfered with until it was found that their lawless social tenets brought scandal on religion. Then several were arrested and arraigned, notably *Joan Bouchier*, who was brought before the council and condemned for denying the Saviour's Incarnation. As she obstinately refused to recant, the young

king was prevailed upon to sign a warrant for her to be burnt. A special warrant was needed for this, because the statutes relating to the punishment of heresy had been repealed at the beginning of the reign. Although burning was a common punishment for heresy at that time, the recurrence to it under Cranmer's

primacy is much to be deplored. Not long after, another anabaptist, *George Van Parre*, suffered a similar fate. Cranmer persuaded the

king to sign the warrants for their execution by pointing out that their opinions were blasphemy against God, and direct denials of the apostles' creed. Besides the refugees there were many learned reformers, specially invited to this country by Cranmer, on account of their eminence in dealing with the controversies of the time. He wrote :

"I considered it better, forasmuch as our adversaries are now holding their councils at Trent to confirm their errors, to recommend his majesty to grant his assistance, that in England, or elsewhere, there might be convoked a synod of the most learned and excellent persons ; in which provision might be made for the purity of ecclesiastical doctrine, and especially for an agreement upon the sacramentarian controversy."

The synod was never held, but there were several public disputations at Oxford and Cambridge respecting the nature of the presence of Christ in the elements of the eucharist. Three of the foreigners whom Cranmer invited are specially noteworthy. One of them was an Italian named *Peter Martyr*. He had been an Augustinian friar, and had married an escaped nun. The regency made him regius professor of divinity at Oxford in 1547. The second was a German named *Martin Bucer*. He had been a Dominican friar, and now obtained the regius professorship of divinity at Cambridge. He came in 1548, but had retained the position only two years when he died. He was buried with much honour in St. Mary's church at Cambridge, the whole university attending his funeral. The third was *John A' Lasco*, a Polish nobleman, who had great influence over Cranmer, and became superintendent of the refugee communities. Without presuming to throw doubt upon the learning or integrity of these men, it is matter for devout thankfulness, both that their influence went as far as it did, and that it stopped where it did. The English and Continental reformations were contemporaneous, and each gave a degree of moral support to the others ; but many foreign reformers were rash and obtrusive men who seemed unable to distinguish primitive faith and practice from papal and mediæval accretions thereto. Those who settled in England were much dissatisfied with the limited extent of the changes made by the new English liturgy. In deference to their objections steps were taken to revise it. Bucer and Martyr made a formal report of their criticisms and suggestions, but as the points objected to were not altered in quite the way desired by them after all, it is clear that the divines appointed by convocation to revise the book did not intend to follow their lead blindly. An indication of the *direction* taken by the revisers may be seen in the change of words appointed

for use in administering the consecrated elements to communicants. The first book contained only the first part of the words now used—down to “everlasting life,” which imply the efficacious aspect of the service; but when the revised book was published and authorised in October 1551, it was found that the old words had been *exchanged* for the second part of those now used, beginning “take and eat,” and “drink this,” etc.—from a liturgy compiled by John A’ Lasco—which indicate its memorial aspect only. The second book abolished also the ancient vestments and ornaments of the churches allowed in the first book, and substituted the word “table” for “altar.” This last was due doubtless to the influence of Bishop Ridley, who in his episcopal visitations had caused the altars to be substituted by tables in the body of the churches. John A’ Lasco would have gone further, and made communicants sit instead of kneel to receive. For numerous other changes readers should refer to works dealing specially with the Prayer-book. The act of uniformity (5 & 6 Ed. VI., c. 1) enforcing the use of this *Second Prayer-book of Edward VI.* was not passed until April 1552, nor was it to come into use until November 1552; and as no order was made to destroy or call in copies of the first book it is not probable that the second came into use before Edward died.

6. The succession to the throne.—The king’s sisters, Mary and Elizabeth, were sorely tried during the protectorates of Somerset and Northumberland. All Henry’s children were by different wives; Mary being the child of Catharine of Aragon, Elizabeth of Anne Boleyn, and Edward of Jane Seymour. Elizabeth’s tutor was *Dr. Matthew Parker*, and he advised her to conciliate the council by conforming to the authorised services. But Mary was no longer under tutelage, and resolutely declined to forsake her cradle faith; she having been brought up by her mother in the most rigorous Spanish fashion to believe in the spiritual and temporal autocracy of the pope. The council tormented her by sending all manner of men to argue with her upon doctrine, but she would listen to none; reserving her judgment until her brother came of age. But Edward sickened and was like to die; and Northumberland saw that the accession of Mary in right of her father’s will would mean the overthrow of himself, his family, and the reforming principles which he had so assiduously instilled into the young king’s mind. He had married his son Lord Guildford Dudley to the *Lady Jane Grey*; granddaughter of Edward’s aunt, Mary Tudor; and hoped to retain power

by securing the throne for his daughter-in-law. Henry had arranged by his will that the succession should pass to the children of Mary Tudor, *failing* any heirs to his daughters Mary and Elizabeth when they in turn succeeded to the throne; but the ambitious protector fomented King Edward's religious susceptibilities until he agreed to *alter the succession* by passing over his half-sisters in immediate favour of Lady Jane Dudley, without the consent of parliament such as Henry was careful to obtain, thus violating the constitution. Edward died July 6, 1553. Two days later, and much against her will, Northumberland proclaimed Lady Jane as queen. Mary at once summoned her friends and marched to London, being received everywhere with enthusiasm. Daily her adherents increased and Northumberland's waned. Then came a stern reaction. Northumberland was arrested and beheaded forthwith; his *protégés* being sent to the Tower. The position of ecclesiastical parties was then entirely reversed; for as Mary had been closely associated with the party that professed to believe in papal supremacy, it naturally took the place of Edward's government.



LADY JANE DUDLEY.

7. The Marian bishops.—But all the early proceedings of Mary's reign were done according to laws made and examples set in the previous reign. The measures framed by Edward's council to suppress opponents were now turned against the men that made them. The six imprisoned bishops were at once released from confinement as an act of royal clemency. The next business was to restore them to the sees of which they had been deprived by the council. That was done by a lay commission; which deprived in turn the bishops by whom they had been supplanted. The same commission dispossessed all other clergy who had been appointed by Edward's council to benefices made vacant by its deprivation of incumbents who were still alive; especially those in offices which carried seats in convocation.

Here it should be remembered that *convocation* consists chiefly of dignitaries: the "upper houses" of bishops only; and the "lower houses" of deans, archdeacons, and proctors elected by the cathedral chapters and by the clergy. But the proctors of the clergy have always been in a great minority; *e.g.* the diocesan representation in either lower house of convocation consists of the dean, two or three archdeacons (these are *ex-officio*), and one proctor elected by the chapter from its other members; while the other clergy of the diocese are only allowed to elect two representatives; so that the representatives of the chapter outnumber the representatives of the parochial



CARDINAL POLE (*see page 334*).

clergy by two to one. Convocation is summoned concurrently with parliament and a general election of proctors takes place at the same time as a general election of members to parliament. In the despotic days of which we are treating, when there was not much freedom of election, it was quite easy for the crown and privy council to ensure the return to parliament of a majority favourable to their policy. It was easier still to pack convocation with subservient members; for the bishops, deans, and other dignitaries were crown appointments; and therefore a despotic monarch was able to

keep matters firmly within grasp on seemingly constitutional lines; especially as the irresponsible power accorded to kings by the acts of supremacy enabled them to incarcerate and to punish all who resisted. Mary's first parliament did not meet until October 5, 1553; and in the meantime occasion had been found, in spite of Mary's promise before her accession not to compel any change in religion, by which those who favoured the ecclesiastical proceedings of the late reign were prevented from appearing in convocation. A fanatic threw a dagger at one of the queen's chaplains who preached at St. Paul's Cross against the reformed service-books. His action gave the queen excuse to issue a proclamation forbidding all unlicensed preaching

which might cause dissension "until such time as further order by common consent may be taken therein." That edict was disobeyed by the leading preachers among the reformers, and they were at once arrested and confined. The prelates Cranmer and Ridley had preached strongly in favour of the Lady Jane and were sent to the Tower as traitors "until further order ;" Hugh Latimer, who had resigned his bishopric of Worcester in Henry's reign through dissatisfaction with the "Six Articles statute," and had refused to resume possession on the deprivation of Heath—preferring to spend his time in what we should now call mission preaching throughout the country—was imprisoned for "seditious demeanour ;" Bishops Hooper and Coverdale following him for preaching without licences, as did other clergy of lesser degree. The foreign reformers were ordered to quit the country with their congregations ; which they made haste to do, accompanied by many of the English clergy and laity who feared that the prominent parts they took in Edwardian politics would bring them into personal danger. No one was prevented from leaving England. Mary's government desired to silence opposition, and if the reformers did not care for voluntary exile occasion was sought to put them under ward. Stephen Gardiner, the restored bishop of Winchester, was appointed lord-chancellor ; while the restored bishops of London and Durham obtained seats in the privy council. When parliament met it declined to repeal *en bloc* the religious statutes of Henry and Edward relating to religion and the divorce at the bidding of the council ; but it ultimately agreed (1 Mary, c. 1) to legitimate Mary by annulling Queen Catharine's divorce, and repeal the ecclesiastical laws of Edward's reign (1 Mary, c. 2). That brought Church affairs back to the position they had occupied at the close of King Henry's reign, but *did not restore papal supremacy*. For nearly two years the royal writs ran thus :—"Mary, by the grace of God, *Supreme head on earth* of the Church of England." The repeal of the Edwardian statutes abolished English service-books in favour of the old Latin missals, breviaries, etc., and restored the six articles act which enforced clerical celibacy. A very large number of bishops and clergy were thus brought within the power of the council, and the archbishop of York (Holgate), with Bishops Birde of Chester, Buche of Bristol—all appointed in Henry's reign—and Ferrar of St. Davids, were immediately deprived for having contracted matrimonial alliances. Bishop Hooper, of Gloucester and Worcester ; Bishop Skip, of Hereford ; and Bishop Taylor, of Lincoln ;

were also deposed—because they had been consecrated by “letters patent” instead of being elected by the chapters. New bishops were then elected by *congés d’élire* to fill their places, who were prepared to deprive all clergy in their dioceses that were amenable to the revived laws, in accordance with the injunctions issued by queen and council by virtue of the royal supremacy. The *first-fruits* and *tenths*, which Henry had appropriated to the crown, were soon ordered to be repaid to Rome as formerly; and it is but just to Mary to point out that she restored the greater part of Church lands and revenues that remained in the hands of the crown.

8. The Spanish match.—It was soon known that Mary had covenanted to marry her cousin *Philip*, who was heir to the Spanish throne. That union was distasteful to the general public; and in



QUEEN MARY TUDOR.

January 1554, *Sir Thomas Wyatt* roused the men of Kent, who marched to London with the intention of seizing the queen's person, and so prevent the project being carried out. The duke of Suffolk was concerned in this rebellion, which gave rise to a suspicion that the restoration of his daughter, Lady Jane Dudley, was its real object. Others suggested that it was on behalf of *Princess Elizabeth*. Suffolk, Lady Jane, and her husband Lord Guildford Dudley, were all beheaded; and Wyatt was tortured to make him implicate the princess, who was arrested and taken to the Tower.

Wyatt afterwards withdrew the false accusations forced from him under torture, and was executed; four hundred of his adherents suffering in like manner. The most astonishing fact in those dark days was the eager study of religious questions by the nobility, and the way both sides “searched the Scriptures” to find authority for their deeds. A persecuting spirit was abroad, life was accounted of far less value than now, and the leaders of each party, believing that the word of God was in their favour, went cheerfully to imprisonment, exile and death for the cause

they represented. Princess Elizabeth was considered a dangerous rival to Mary, especially as it was known she favoured the religious opinions current during Edward's reign, and therefore she was kept confined. Bishops Gardiner, Bonner, and Tonstall tried to induce her to accept the papal interpretation respecting the mode of our Lord's presence in the elements of bread and wine at holy Communion, but she was very diplomatic in her replies. A famous verse has been attributed to her authorship in this connexion :—

“Christ was the Word that spake it,
He took the bread and brake it,
And what the Word did make it,
That I believe and take it.”

It is said that Elizabeth owed her release from the Tower to Philip, who dreaded to leave England open to French and Scottish intrigues. But she was kept a close prisoner at Woodstock and Hatfield, and compelled to conform to her sister's mode of worship. Mary's marriage took place in July 1554, and very soon the worst fears of the nation were realized; for her husband was a stern, callous, and implacable man, who upheld the enormities of the *Spanish Inquisition*—whose *autos-da-fé*¹ had filled all Europe with horror—and only professed clemency to a few that he might be able to throw the blame of many deaths on others. He brought with him a number of Romish clergy whose special misson was to reduce England to papal obedience and promote the extirpation of “heretics.” One of them became the queen's confessor, and others succeeded the foreign reformers as professors in the universities. Writings of the old school-men like *Thomas Aquinas* were made the subjects of study, in place of the classics and early Christian fathers introduced by Colet and Erasmus; and steps were taken to obtain legal sanction for extreme measures against the imprisoned bishops and clergy, by repealing all acts relating to the royal supremacy, and to enforce the statute for burning heretics which was originally passed in 1401 (page 245) and revived by Cranmer (page 326).

9. Reconciliation with Rome.—The difficulty in the way was the dissolution and plunder of the monasteries. So many nobles and merchants held monastic lands that parliament refused all advances made to it by Philip and Mary for reconciliation with the pope until the latter consented to confirm the alienation, transfer, and sale of

¹ A Portuguese phrase meaning an act of faith—deriv. “Auto” (*actus*) an act; “da”—(*de*) of; and “fe” (*fides*) faith—applied to the ceremony of burning heretics.

monastic lands to their then possessors. Mary had personally submitted herself to the pope soon after her accession, and *Cardinal Pole*, whom the pope had deputed to "represent" England at the council of Trent (notwithstanding that he was an outlaw and a traitor to his king), was nominated extraordinary legate to this country. But neither parliament nor the council, of which Bishop Gardiner was chief, would consent to his landing in England so long as the bishop of Rome declined to confirm the disposition of monastic estates, and the rights of patronage acquired thereby. At length the pope yielded the desired point, and Cardinal Pole entered England as plenipotentiary, November 24, 1554. By that time there was a new parliament, and consequently a new convocation, much more subservient than the last. Both were required by the queen to desire reconciliation and pardon from the legate, requests most graciously accorded by him, the members humbly kneeling to receive absolution. Mary's parliament then showed its gratitude by repealing the acts of Henry's reign which, subsequent to 1529, had been directed against the papal supremacy; but the legislature was shrewd enough to insert in the *statute of repeal* (1 & 2 Philip and Mary, c. 8) the provisions of the legatine dispensation which confirmed the titles to ecclesiastical property, in spite of all Pole's efforts to dissociate the subjects. By that act the statutes against lollards were revived, and very soon enforced. The following bishops were appointed commissioners to try all persons suspected of heresy: Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, president; Tonstall, bishop of Durham; Thirlby, bishop of Norwich; Aldridge, bishop of Carlisle; and Bonner, bishop of London; all of whom were consecrated in the reign of Henry VIII. The trials took place in St. Saviour's church, Southwark. Mary's convocation had put forth three propositions as *the test of heresy*; and if the accused would not allow them to be true they were forthwith condemned—if they were in holy orders they were also degraded from their office—and then handed over to the secular arm. The triple test was:—(1) Whether the natural body of Christ be really present under the species of bread and wine by virtue of the consecrating words spoken by the priest; (2) Whether the substances of bread and wine cease to exist after consecration; and (3) Whether the mass be a propitiatory sacrifice for the sins of the living and the dead. Unless the accused were prepared to give affirmative replies to each, and accept the pope's supremacy, they had not much hope of life. No excuse or pity was allowed on the score of illiterateness, age, or sex.

10. The Marian persecutions.—The first four to be arraigned before the commissioners were *John Hooper*, bishop of Gloucester; *John Rogers* (otherwise Matthew), who had translated the “Matthew’s Bible” and was also canon of St. Paul’s and vicar of St. Sepulchre’s, London; *Laurence Saunders*, sometime vicar of Coventry; and *Dr. Rowland Taylor*, parson of Hadleigh, in Suffolk. They were all condemned for denying “transubstantiation,” and they were sentenced to be burnt in the place where they had ministered, in order that their parishioners and people might be terrified into renouncing the opinions they had learned from the condemned teachers. But that arrangement had a directly contrary effect.

The condemned divines went to their deaths so bravely that the bystanders felt that such courage proceeded from an ardent conviction that the doctrines for which they suffered were true. Several contemporary accounts



CHOIR OF ST. SAVIOUR'S, SOUTHWARK.

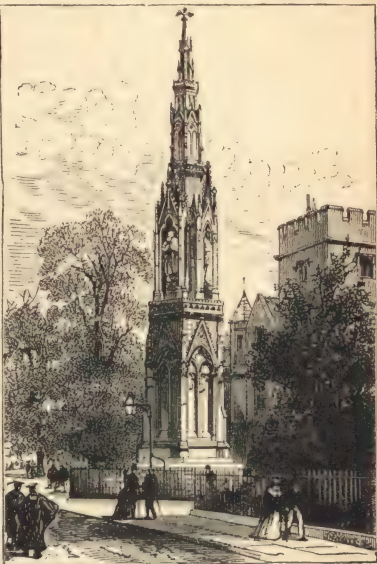
exist of those times, written by independent observers of high character who were in no way prejudiced in favour of the reformers, which help us to understand what really happened; e.g. the French ambassador, *Noailles*, who witnessed the martyrdom of Canon Rogers at Smithfield, records against the date, February 4, 1555:—“This day was celebrated the confirmation of the alliance between the pope and this kingdom, by the public and solemn sacrifice of a doctor and preacher named Rogers, who was burned alive for holding Lutheran opinions, persisting till death in his sentiments. At this constancy the people were so delighted that they feared not to strengthen his courage by their acclamations, even his own children joining, and consoling him after such a fashion that it seemed as if they were conducting him to his nuptials.” Bishop Hooper was sent to his see city, Gloucester, and there suffered, Feb. 9.

"A great wind blew while he was burning, and hindered the flame to rise up and choke him, or destroy his vitals, so that he was near three-quarters of an hour in great torment." Dr. Taylor was burnt in his parish on the same day, confirming many of his people by his courageous demeanour;¹ and Mr. Saunders displayed equal constancy at Coventry the day before. *Bishop Ferrar*, of St. Davids, was burnt in the market-place of Carmarthen on March 30. "He had told a gentleman of his acquaintance that if he saw him in the least degree shrink when in the flames, he might freely disbelieve all the doctrines which he had taught. No such shrinking was discernible, although his sufferings were greatly prolonged."² Bishop Gardiner hoped that those five examples would terrify the people into submission and appease the appetite of the court. He was mistaken in both suppositions; for the reformers were eager to testify their faith in their blood, and the council pressed the bishops to be more zealous in seeking out suspected heretics. Gardiner and Tonstall declined to imbrue their hands further, so they resigned their seats on the commission; and the presidency of it fell to Bonner, bishop of London, who seemed determined not to be accused of slackness in the matter; for the summaries made of the total burnings during Mary's reign in England and Wales, credit the diocese of London with 128 victims out of a total of 286! Canterbury diocese (Cardinal Pole's) contributed 55, and the diocese of Norwich (Bishop Hopton's) 46.³ There were no burnings in the dioceses of Lincoln, Durham, Carlisle, Bath and Wells, Hereford, or Worcester. The chief place among the martyrs has always been accorded to Archbishop Cranmer, and Bishops Latimer and Ridley, because of their prominent work in guiding the reforms of Edward's reign and framing the English service-books. No one had power to condemn the archbishop and metropolitan except the pope, because he had been appointed by papal bulls (see page 286). All three prelates had been imprisoned in Oxford since the autumn of 1553, they having been sent there to have their tenets confuted publicly by Romanist divines; but on September 30, 1555, Latimer and Ridley were brought out for trial. After a brief disputation they were condemned to die together. The story of their sufferings has been told so often, that we need not tell it again at any length. The stake

¹ On a stone erected at the spot may still be seen "1555, D. Tayler in defending that was good, At this place left his blode." ² *Student's Church History*, vol. ii.

³ The summaries that have been made of the total number burnt do not agree.

was erected opposite Balliol college, and they were fastened to it back to back by a single chain. A relative of Bishop Ridley provided bags of gunpowder to hang round their necks to shorten their agony. Honest old Latimer, who never once wavered through all these troubled times, and had never ceased to denounce unsparingly every species of vice, especially vice in high places, which caused some to give him the distinguishing title of the apostle of the reformation, ended his life in a characteristic way. As soon as the faggots were lighted he cheered his partner with the ever memorable prophecy, "Be of good comfort, Master Ridley, and play the man; we shall this day light such a candle, by God's grace, in England, as I trust shall never be put out." He had hardly time to commend his soul to God before the flames reached the powder, and his sufferings were over. But the same wind which carried the flames to Latimer blew them away from Ridley, and the faggots would not burn. His feet and legs were roasted but his vitals were untouched. A friend piled on more wood, but that only choked the flame; and not until a bystander stirred the embers did the flames reach the gunpowder and end his pain.



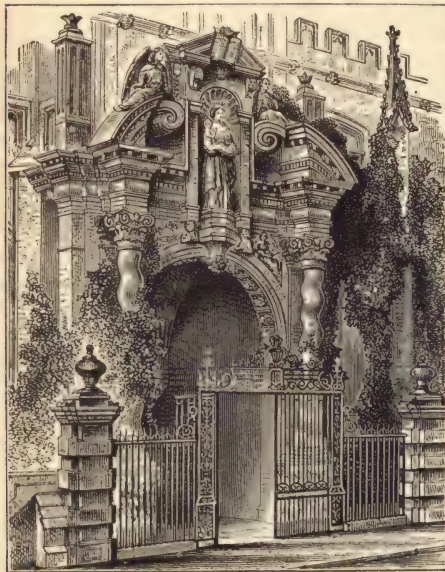
MARTYRS' MEMORIAL, OXFORD.

Cranmer was not put to death until six months later. He alone loved life more than faith. His action was fearful and fitful all through.

"Like a poor bird entangled in a snare,
Whose heart still flutters, though h's wings forbear
To stir in useless struggle."

He was persuaded over and over again by his enemies to believe that a pardon would be granted if he would recant certain passages in his

writings and public disputations. The Romanists felt that if the leader of the reformation could be induced to deny its principles a fatal blow would be struck against it. No less than seven different documents were signed by Cranmer, each more galling and humiliating than their predecessors, until he had admitted himself to be everything that was vile. But the pardon for which he looked came not. They told him it should be given publicly, after a public recantation. He agreed to that also, but it did not fall out as intended by his foes. On Saturday, March 21, 1556, a wet and stormy day, he was conducted through the streets of Oxford to St. Mary's church; but when the



PORCH OF ST. MARY'S, OXFORD (*page 440*).

time for recantation came he surprised the congregation and his enemies by repudiating all his previous recantations, and declared that the hand which signed them should burn first when they brought him to the stake. His revengeful persecutors were bitterly mortified, and hurried him out of the church to the pyre hard by, where his fellow bishops had suffered six months before; and there, true to his promise, when the flames were kindled, Cranmer held his right hand over them until it was entirely consumed; repeating all the while "this unworthy hand." The next day Cardinal Pole was appointed to the primacy thus rendered vacant. The papal bull containing Cranmer's sentence declared that he was condemned "for bringing in the false and heretical doctrines of Wycliffe and Luther." The burnings continued until the end of the

time for recantation came he surprised the congregation and his enemies by repudiating all his previous recantations, and declared that the hand which signed them should burn first when they brought him to the stake. His revengeful persecutors were bitterly mortified, and hurried him out of the church to the pyre hard by, where his fellow bishops had suffered six months before; and there, true to his promise, when the flames were kindled, Cranmer held his right hand

over them until it was

reign, and with increasing bitterness ; any expressions of pity for the victims from bystanders being prohibited by proclamation. The last human sacrifice of Mary's reign was offered at Canterbury, in November 1558, when five persons were immolated. They prayed when at the stake that they might be the last so executed, and their prayers were answered. Those executions did more than anything else to make Englishmen execrate everything that harmonised with the Church of Rome, and heap infamy on Queen Mary ; who saw too late that it was impossible to quench a movement which had been growing and strengthening for generations. It will not do to try and account for the struggle on political or patriotic grounds, connected with the question of papal supremacy, merely. It was far more than that ; for many persons were burnt solely because of their opinions on matters of faith and ritual, and died in the belief that they were witnessing to truth, restoring worship to primitive simplicity, and setting apostolic doctrine free from the bondage of superstition. Yet it cannot be forgotten that each party which came into power adopted similar methods of repressing those who opposed its religious policy.

11. The exiled reformers.—We must now follow those who escaped in the early part of the reign from such dire persecutions. Many fled to France and Geneva, but most to Frankfort. They included several bishops, viz. *Scory*, *Coverdale*, and *Poynet*, consecrated in Edward's reign ; and *Barlow*, bishop of Bath and Wells, who was consecrated in the reign of Henry VIII. There were several deans and archdeacons besides, and many learned clergy who afterwards became eminent, such as *Jewel*, *Knox*, *Grindal*, and others ; besides a large number of influential laymen with their families. All were prominent persons connected with the reformation, otherwise their escape would not have been necessary. They were a mixed company with diverse opinions ; and could neither agree among themselves nor live at peace among those who sheltered them. Some desired to use the English service-books, others did not ; and the Frankfort settlement was marred by such sharp contentions that the magistracy had to interfere. The chief antagonists were John Knox and Dr. Cox, and the dispute ended by the expulsion of Knox from the city. Those "*Troubles of Frankfort*" sowed the seed of much recrimination afterwards ; especially as each section of the exiles, in one city or another, had its own private opinions as to discipline or

ceremonial; for some became Zwinglian, others Lutheran, some anabaptists and others Calvinistic, and each intolerant of its neighbour. In England meanwhile Cardinal Pole had instituted a general visitation of the dioceses and universities (1557) for the extermination of all books and relics of the reformers. At Cambridge Bucer's bones were exhumed, and burnt upon a pile of his books. Peter Martyr's wife had died during his residence at Oxford, and her bones were taken from the consecrated ground in which they had been laid, and buried in a dunghill as a perjured *religieuse*. The *Jesuit fathers* then wished to make England a fruitful seed-



JOHN CALVIN (*see page 287*).

plot for their system, but Cardinal Pole objected to their ways. He thereby brought the enmity of Rome upon himself, and his legatine commission was revoked, *Cardinal Peto* being appointed in his stead. Queen Mary resented that action of the pope and threatened to punish Peto under the old statutes of *Præmunire* if he ventured to land in England as legate! So that even in Mary's submissive reign the pope's authority was not quite absolute. Mary died November 17, 1558, of a broken heart; brought on by her husband's neglect, the loss of Calais, and the failure of her religious projects. Within the next twenty-four hours Cardinal Pole died also. Princess Elizabeth at once assumed sovereignty; and again the political and religious affairs of the country underwent a revolution. In this chapter it has not been practicable to do more than give a bare outline of leading events in the Edwardian and Marian administrations; but inasmuch as the details of that decade have never lacked exponents they will not suffer by being shortly summarised in this volume.

CHAPTER XX. (A.D. 1558-1603.)

UNDER THE VIRGIN QUEEN

"All hail, sage lady, whom a grateful isle
Hath blest, respiring from that dismal war
Stilled by thy voice ! But quickly from afar
Defiance breathes with more malignant aim ;
And alien storms with home-bred ferments claim
Portentous fellowship."

1. Restoration of the royal supremacy.—The new queen began her reign warily, and there were no sudden changes. Many counsellors of the late reign were retained to advise and direct, and the bishops escorted her from Highgate to London amid the acclamations of the people. At the same time it was so very well known that Elizabeth had inherited a preference for the reformers, that the exiles trooped back readily ; accompanied by many indiscreet persons who determined to overthrow by violence all religious ceremonies and set up modes of worship according to their own sweet will. But their innovations and iconoclasm were promptly suppressed. A proclamation was issued (December 27) forbidding any kind of religious worship other than that which was in use *at the close of Henry's reign* until the three estates of the realm could be called together to advise. That proclamation reassured disquieted minds and probably prevented a revolution. In due course Elizabeth's accession was notified to the various courts of Europe, including that of Pope Paul IV. ; but the latter replied in insolent terms that England was a fief of the papacy, and that Elizabeth had no right to assume royal sway without his authority ; adding that as her mother's marriage was invalid she had no legitimate claim to the throne at all, but if she would follow her sister's example by accepting the supremacy of the popes he might condescend to allow her to reign ! His message was treated as it deserved, but it altered the attitude of the Marian bishops towards Elizabeth. She was crowned on January 13 by *Bishop Oglethorpe*, of Carlisle ; but the other prelates refused to recognise or attend the ceremony. *Lord Burleigh* was then made prime minister, and he recommended that the queen's late tutor, *Dr. Parker*, who had lived in close retirement during Mary's reign, should be chief counsellor in Church affairs. The people proved loyal at the elections, and Elizabeth's first parliament met on Jan. 25, 1559. All the bills submitted to it related to ecclesiastical

affairs. The first statute passed, after a long and hot debate of two months' duration, revived the ancient jurisdiction of the crown over all estates in the realm ; wisely substituting "*supreme governor*" for the objectionable title "*supreme head*." This was a very effective reply to Paul IV. The act was a most comprehensive one. It repealed all the religious acts of Mary's reign, and restored those which were in force at Edward's death. As some of the latter had proved mischievous, saving clauses were inserted in it to correct their unsatisfactory parts ; such as the interference with the ancient privilege that cathedral chapters should have "leave to elect" their bishops. The prelates who owed their preferment to Mary's government strongly opposed the passage of the measure at every stage, as indeed they did all the acts of that session, but it passed into law on April 20. The episcopal opposition must be looked upon in the light of the recent persecutions. Several of the bishops had accepted the principles of the bills under Henry and Edward ; but they had taken an opposite course under Mary, and shed much blood in furtherance of their changed opinions. It was not to be expected that they would now condemn the late martyrdoms by countenancing principles which a few months before they had rigorously prosecuted as the most terrible of human offences. The succession act provided for the establishment of a *high-commission court* (page 357) to examine and decide upon ecclesiastical causes, from whose judgment there should be no appeal. It was not to allow any doctrines to be "heresy" unless the Scriptures or the decisions of the four general councils declared them to be so. We shall hear of it again. Naturally the annates and first-fruits were again denied to the see of Rome, but Elizabeth followed her father's example by appropriating them to crown uses, so that the clergy continued to groan under the burden. It was not lightened until the eighteenth century (see page 473).

2. The restoration of the Liturgy.—Concurrently with the new act of supremacy, parliament discussed a new act of uniformity with reference to public worship. Convocation possesses the sole right of regulating doctrinal and devotional matters ; but as it was not advisable for the new government to imitate Mary's counsellors by forcibly "packing" that assembly, and as the contemporary convocation was known to be opposed to any new revision of the Latin service-books, it was decided to fall back upon the English books of common prayer which had already received

the sanction of a previous convocation. A commission was appointed to revise them, with Dr. Parker for its president, which included many returned exiles ; but it did not favour the queen's desire to restore the ceremonial of the first English book. The privy council felt that moderate measures were needed to ensure the stability of the throne, and that the nation would not consent to forego ancient religious customs merely to please the few who advocated modern Swiss and German practices. Meanwhile a public disputation was held at Westminster, and attended by the members of parliament, to discuss the right of national Churches to decree rites and ceremonies in accordance with the Word of God ; and enquire whether the Scriptures forbade public worship in the vernacular, or justified the theory that the eucharist was a propitiatory sacrifice for the sins of quick and dead. The disputants were selected from the learned Marian clergy and those which had occupied similar positions under Edward VI. ; but the former disregarded the agreed conditions of debate, and the discussion was abruptly terminated. Bishops *White*, of Winchester, and *Watson*, of Lincoln, declared that the queen and council deserved excommunication for expecting them to argue upon such matters, for which seditious language they were sent to the Tower. The result of those preliminaries may be best expressed in the words of the statute :—



"*Whercas*, at the death of our late sovereign lord king Edward VI., there remained one uniform order of common service and prayer authorized by act of parliament, holden in the 5th and 6th years of our said late sovereign lord king Edward VI., entitled '*An Act for the Uniformity of Common Prayer, and administration of the Sacraments*' the which was repealed and taken away by act of parliament in the first year of our late sovereign lady queen Mary, to the great decay of the due honour of God, and discomfort to professors of the truth of Christ's religion.

"*Be it therefore enacted*, by the authority of this present parliament, *that the said statute of repeal and everything therein contained concerning the said book shall be void and of none effect and that the said book shall stand and be in full force and effect*, according to the tenor of this statute, anything in the aforesaid statute of repeal to the contrary notwithstanding.

"*And further be it enacted that all and singular ministers*, in any cathedral or parish church, shall from and after the feast of the nativity of John Baptist next coming, be bounden to say and use the matins, evensong, celebration of the Lord's Supper and administration of each of the sacraments, and all their common and open prayer, in such order and form as is mentioned in the said book, so authorized by parliament in the said 5th and 6th years of King Edward VI., *with one alteration or addition of certain lessons to be used on every Sunday in the year, and the form of the litany altered and corrected, and two sentences only added in the delivery of the Sacrament to the communicants, and none other, or otherwise.*"

The alteration mentioned in the Litany was the omission of the suffrage respecting the bishop of Rome (see page 291) and a slight addition to the petition for the monarch's good life. The change in the Communion office was merely the combination of the old and new sentences (see page 328) by which the words of administration assumed their present form. There were two other alterations not mentioned in the act, viz. the omission of the rubric as to kneeling at the end of the Communion office, which a subsequent convocation restored; and the insertion of the *Ornaments Rubric* just before the daily matins, retained in all subsequent revisions, which revived the vestments and chancel arrangements "as were in this Church of England by the authority of parliament in the second year of the reign of King Edward." It was very irregular for the queen and parliament to make those emendations without the consent of convocation, but the end excused the means; and there is cause for thankfulness that no attempt was made to do more than appease the conflicting parties.¹ The use of the *Second book* of Edward's reign

¹ The late Mr. Wayland Joyce, who published a work called *Acts of the Church* just before his death in 1887, claimed to have discovered a document which goes to show that these alterations had first received the sanction of an episcopal synod.

satisfied all but the revolutionary reformers, and the carefully judged additions, omissions, and corrections, conciliated all but the extremest partisans of Rome. On April 28, after a protracted discussion, the act of uniformity became law (1 Eliz., c. 2), and although there was no obligation to use the book before June 24 it immediately came into general use. An objection was subsequently made by Bishop Bonner that the *Ordinal* was illegal, because not expressly mentioned in the statute. To remove all doubt a short act was passed later on, explaining that the ordination service, having been bound up with the second book, was understood to be part of the book, and therefore legal.

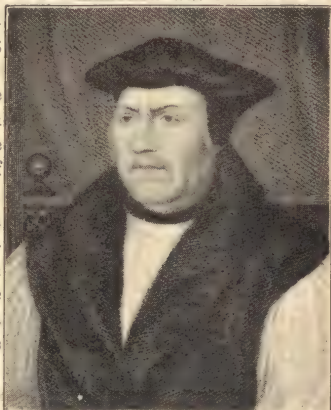
3. The vacant bishoprics.—Besides the primacy six sees were vacated by death before the accession of Elizabeth:—Oxford (December 1557), Salisbury (April 1558), Bangor (May 1558), Gloucester and Hereford (September 1558), and Bristol (November 1558); and two bishops died after the accession, but before the above acts were passed, viz.:—Norwich (December 1558), and Chichester (January 2, 1559). There were therefore only sixteen bishops in possession of sees out of an episcopate of twenty-five. On May 15, after they had been given time to consider the new statutes, those sixteen prelates were summoned to the queen that they might take the oath of supremacy. With the single exception of the bishop of Llandaff they all refused. The act provided that any refusal of the oath incurred forfeiture of any public position in Church or realm. The bishops were therefore deprived. But not all at once. There was no harsh treatment, such as was extended to their predecessors by Mary, and they knew well that their lives were secure. The names of the bishops are appended in the footnote,¹ in the order of their deprivation, from which it is clear that every opportunity was given for the least objectionable ones to make submission before any attempt was made to fill the sees vacated by their disloyalty. Bishops White and Watson had been sent to the Tower temporarily, as a punishment for their seditious conduct at the Westminster disputation,

¹ The fourteen bishops deprived were as follows:—*Bonner* of London (June 2, 1559), *Scott* of Chester and *Oglethorpe* of Carlisle (June 21), *Morgan* of St. Davids and *Buines* of Lichfield (June 24), *Pate* of Worcester (June 30), *Watson* of Lincoln (July 2), *Goldwell* of St. Asaph (July 15), *White* of Winchester (July 18), *Heath*, archbishop of York, and *Tonstall*, bishop of Durham (September 29), *Bourne* of Bath and Wells and *Poole* of Peterborough (November 11), *Turberville* of Exeter (November 16), and *Thirby* of Ely (November 23). Bishop *Griffith* of Rochester was not deprived. He had long been sick, and he died on November 20.

but they were soon released and allowed to go abroad with pensions; as were Bishops Pate, Scott, and Goldwell later on. Bishop Bonner, whose part in the late persecutions had brought him much odium, was confined in the Marshalsea prison, chiefly for fear of the mob; but the remainder were consigned to the custody of their friends, or committed to the care and hospitality of the bishops who obtained their places. Three of them, Bishops Poole and Turberville, and Archbishop Heath, were allowed to retire upon their private estates, the last named being often visited by Queen Elizabeth. This lenient treatment of refractory prelates compared favourably with the harsh measures of the preceding reign. Accounts do not agree as to the total number of clergy who refused to accept the oath of supremacy and act of uniformity; some say 189, others 296—but no list exceeds 400. And there were 9400 clergy at the time. In other words an overwhelming majority, more than twenty to one, of the clergy accepted the restored supremacy and liturgy with more or less cheerfulness. When we consider further who the few objectors were we find that they had nearly all been appointed by the papal advisers of Queen Mary to benefices in crown patronage because they were well known to be staunch upholders of papal pretensions. Nothing can demonstrate with more clearness than this the continuance of the old Church of the nation. In spite of the rapid and drastic changes, hundreds of clergy of all grades were able to retain their benefices from before the close of Henry's reign to well on into that of Elizabeth. The very rapidity with which one government succeeded another prevented any complete change in the *personnel* of the Church, even had such a measure been desirable. Every official document of Elizabeth's reign expressly disclaims any intention of breaking the Church's continuity. But there was a source of great danger to the Church from the defection of Marian bishops. Many of the returned exiles affected to care nothing for the episcopal office and saw no merit therein, but sober-minded and faithful men knew that "from the apostles' time there had ever been three orders of ministers in Christ's Church—bishops, priests, and deacons"—and that the regular succession of bishops had always been the acknowledged connexion between the apostolic root and national branches of the one holy and universal Church. But the succession, though endangered, was not lost. Among the exiles were several of the bishops who had been forcibly deprived in Mary's reign *without any canonical process*. These had returned to England; and when the still undeprived Marian

bishops declined to aid in consecrating successors to the sees which had been vacated by death, they were appointed to perform the requisite episcopal acts ; every care being taken that all should be done rightly and canonically, so that none should have occasion of cavil thereafter.

4. Consecration of Archbishop Parker.—The most important business was to consecrate a successor to the primacy in the place of Cardinal Pole, who died soon after Queen Mary. Dr. Parker was nominated by Elizabeth and duly elected by the dean and chapter of Christ's church, Canterbury, by virtue of the customary *congé d'élire*, August 1, 1559. On September 9 a commission was issued to six bishops, three Edwardian and three Marian, for his consecration ; but as the Marian prelates declined to officiate, four more of the Edwardian bishops were named in their stead (December 6). Of the seven thus nominated, any four of whom were empowered to act, although three would have been sufficient to ensure a valid consecration, the following were in attendance on December 17, the day of consecration :—*William Barlow*, consecrated in Henry's reign (1536), to be bishop of St. Asaph ; *John Scory*, who had been consecrated to Rochester in Ed-



ARCHBISHOP PARKER.

ward's reign (1551), and appointed to Chichester in 1552 ; *Miles Coverdale*, the translator of the Bible, made suffragan bishop in the reign of Henry, and appointed to the see of Exeter in Edward's reign ; and *John Hodgkins*, suffragan bishop of Bedford, also of the reign of Edward. These details are given because fictitious rumours were propagated half a century later, intended to throw suspicion on the validity of Parker's consecration, which are still occasionally revived by Romanists. No official act was ever more carefully and accurately performed. It is very rare that the details of a ceremony in those days are so minutely recorded as the circumstances of his consecration. It took place in the chapel of Lambeth-palace December 17, 1559, in the presence of a goodly gathering. Dr. Thomas Yale read the royal mandate for the ceremony,

and Bishop Barlow acted as the senior consecrator. All the bishops laid hands upon the new archbishop, and repeated the essential words in the act of consecration; and as there can be no doubt of the validity of what was then done, so there can be none as to the succession of episcopal orders in our Church; for Archbishop Parker and those who consecrated him proceeded to consecrate others to fill the vacant sees so soon as suitable men were nominated. A few people have questioned the validity of Archbishop Parker's consecration because the bishops who officiated were not in possession of sees.¹ But the expulsion of those men from their benefices by Queen Mary's commission could not take away their spiritual functions, any more than the deprivation of non-juring bishops at the revolution did (page 459). Though their acts may be considered irregular, they were certainly not invalid. Our colonial bishops, *e.g.* often resign their sees and return to England. They are frequently employed in assisting the home bishops in confirmations, ordinations, and consecrations. So it has always been and is still with every episcopal Church. All that is needful for us to know is that those who did episcopal acts were themselves properly appointed and consecrated. It is not always possible, after the lapse of centuries, to trace the parchments of every bishop's consecration; and because Bishop Barlow's own consecration is not recorded in the Lambeth register his official acts have been declared invalid by a few modern papalists. But nothing can be proved or disproved by that omission, because the records of many other bishops, such as Gardiner, whose orders have never been doubted, are missing in like manner. There are, however, abundant evidences elsewhere that Barlow was properly admitted to the episcopate, and that he was acknowledged by his colleagues on the episcopal bench during the last ten years of Henry's reign as a properly consecrated bishop. The best proof of Parker's consecration after all is that none of the Marian bishops, who would have delighted to throw discredit on the chief opponent of their systems if possible, ever made

¹ The following words of a learned German theologian, Dr. von Döllinger, from his speech at the reunion conference at Bonn, 1875, ought to be conclusive:—"The fact that Parker was consecrated by four rightly consecrated bishops, *rite et legitime*, with imposition of hands and the necessary words, is so well attested that, if one chooses to doubt this fact, one could, with the same right, doubt one hundred thousand facts. . . . The fact is as well established as a fact can be required to be. Bossuet has acknowledged the validity of Parker's consecration, and no critical historian can dispute it. The orders of the Romish Church could be disputed with more appearance of reason."

any public protest against the validity of his consecration. Fifty years elapsed after the event took place before any one suggested a doubt about it ; and eighty years passed by before Barlow's was questioned. Archbishop Parker's first business was to fill up the remaining vacant bishoprics. On December 20, Bishops Barlow and Scory were confirmed in their appointments to the sees of Chichester and Hereford, vacant by death. The next day four new bishops were consecrated for London, Ely, Worcester, and Bangor ; a month later four others for St. Davids, Lincoln, Salisbury and St. Asaph ; and on March 24, 1560, three more for Rochester, Bath and Wells, and Lichfield and Coventry. The other sees were kept vacant for a time, in order that approved men should be placed in them, but by 1562 every bishopric was occupied. There was a dearth of parochial clergy at that time, owing to the deaths of many bishops and the practical suspension for over a year of those who survived ; but the newly consecrated bishops endeavoured to make up for lost time by ordaining clergy and confirming the churches everywhere, so that before long the Church of England was again in working order. Archbishop Parker proved himself an able administrator, such as the Church needed in those days ; for he kept a firm hand over a disorganised clergy, compelling them to dress canonically and conduct services with reverence and regularity. In those efforts he was helped by a re-issue of the *injunctions* of Edward's reign, revised and improved from experience of past years. He had sometimes to contend with difficulties arising out of the queen's character, and still oftener with puritan bishops who were anxious for drastic reforms ; but before he died in 1575 his policy towards Romanists, his restriction of puritan innovations, his resolution to purify ritual, and his zealous personal labours, had made it possible to effect a lasting and solid settlement of the reformed English Church.

5. Articles of religion.—After the Lutheran reformers had come to England in 1538 (page 288) an attempt was made to interpret reforming opinions by a document known as the *Thirteen Articles*, founded upon Melanethon's *Augsburg Confession*. There had long been a tendency among religious communities to set out their ideas in formal explanatory codes ; and the council of Trent, which had been holding session after session since 1545, drew up a similar statement of Romanist belief. The "thirteen articles" were never authorised, but in 1551 Archbishop Cranmer was directed "to frame a book of articles of religion for the preserving and maintaining peace and unity of

doctrine." When finished they were forty-two in number. Having been submitted to and accepted by convocation they received royal authority (May 1553) and were very generally subscribed by the clergy; but the accession of Mary within two months of their publication caused them to be suppressed. As soon as the Elizabethan episcopal difficulties were set at rest, the attention of convocation was directed to the revival of the articles; but the dangerous tenets of those who returned from exile "with Germanical natures," as Archbishop Parker was wont to describe them, "who under cover of reformation sought the ruin and subversion both of learning and of religion," rendered a very careful revision necessary. That was done, and in 1563 they



BISHOP JOHN JEWEL.

appeared as *thirty-eight articles*. They were again revised in 1571, when they assumed their present order and number. On the application of convocation those thirty-nine articles were sanctioned by parliament and ratified by Queen Elizabeth. They have ever since been the test of orthodox Churchmanship; and until recently subscription to them was needed from all who held official positions under government. Kindred formularies—like the confessions of Augsburg and Wittenberg, and the creed issued by the council of Trent—are considered by Lutherans and Romanists as essential *articles of faith*; belief in

which is considered necessary for every Christian's salvation. But the thirty-nine articles now printed at the end of our Prayer-book are in no sense to be considered as an authoritative creed for all Churchmen. They are rather limitations, explanations, and safeguards—against Romanism on the one hand and extreme puritanism on the other—subscription to which gives assurance of the subscriber's loyalty. The three creeds mentioned in our present eighth article, which derive their doctrinal authority wholly from God's Word, are the only formulæ besides the Scriptures that are binding upon all English Churchmen. The thirty-nine articles were originally printed

in English and Latin, in order that their meaning might be interpreted more easily. As they took the shape of a formal public document it is clear that they should be accepted in their literal and grammatical sense alone ; which can be ascertained by references to contemporary literature and other formularies of the time. As they do not pretend to be complete or exhaustive, there is no reason why all the clergy should not sign them in good faith ; and as they were intended to be pacificatory we ought not to strain their meaning. In 1563 many puritan clergy resigned their benefices, rather than subscribe the articles of religion, but we shall hear of them presently. Article XXXV. mentions two books of *homilies*. The first book has already been referred to (p.319). The second book appeared in 1563 and was compiled by Bishop Jewel ; the same who published a famous *Apology for the Church of England* in 1561, which for several successive reigns was placed by royal command in every church of the land for the instruction of the people. The "apology" and "homilies" were both "very necessary for those times," but both have long been obsolete. Two revisions of the English Bible were made about this time. One is known as the *Geneva Bible*. It was translated abroad by William Whittingham, and dedicated to Queen Elizabeth. It had a large circulation, but there were so many political and questionable annotations in it that Archbishop Parker had a new revision made, which was published with authority in 1568 and known as the *Bishops' Bible*. And an order was issued that the latter should be the only version read from during the time of Divine service in churches.

6. The council of Trent.—When Henry VIII. had given the death-blow to papal power in England, and had been excommunicated by Paul III., he appealed to a general council against the ban. The pope then summoned a council at *Mantua*, and cited Henry to appear before it ; but the latter declined on the ground that it was not properly convoked. The condition of the Romish Church was then so bad in head and members that all pious people demanded reform, and many men, including Luther, before they drifted too far from 'universality,' had professed willingness to abide by the decisions of a completely representative council. The Church of Rome was bound to meet that general demand ; but while outwardly consenting, care was taken so to arrange representation, and formulate business, that whatever happened her own errors should not be condemned. Various places were suggested for the council to meet at, but the princes

refused their assent. At last the city of Trent in the Austrian Tyrol was decided on, and invitations were sent out. The Church of England did not recognise the council, and therefore did not send representatives; but the outlawed English ecclesiastic, Cardinal Pole, was nominated by the pope to represent this country, so as to preserve the semblance of universality. A formal preliminary session took place on December 13, 1545, but there were very few deputies present. There were twenty-five meetings altogether, spread over a period of eighteen years, therefore the members present were never the same; those who did attend being mostly Italians. Ten years intervened between the sixteenth and seventeenth sessions, 1552-62; so that there were no meetings during the reign of Queen Mary. Pius IV. wanted Elizabeth to send representatives to the seventeenth session in 1562, but she refused to let the papal nuncio communicate with the prelates; because the council was "not free, pious, or Christian," and because the terms of invitation were humiliating. Other European princes declined for similar reasons. It was therefore in no sense a "general" council, and consequently its decrees have no binding force on Christians who repudiate the papal claims to world-wide dominion. The last meeting took place December 3, 1563, and the doctrinal decisions arrived at were embodied in the famous creed of Pope Pius IV., which contains many 'articles of faith' not found in any former profession of belief. Romanists have since been bound to accept papal "traditions" as of equal authority with holy Scripture, and to receive as *de fide* several previously unauthorised dogmas, viz. :—the Trent decrees on justification and original sin; a propitiatory sacrifice for living and dead in the eucharist; transubstantiation and communion in one kind; purgatory; invocation of saints and veneration of their images or relics; indulgences; the Church of Rome as the mother and mistress of all Churches, obedience to the pope as vicar of Christ; and all other decrees of the "holy council of Trent." Many of the above doctrines had been floating about for generations as pious opinions, not authoritatively binding, but the above-mentioned creed "hardened into positive law much that was previously open and indeterminate, thereby laying a heavy burden on the modern Roman Catholic's conscience from which his forefathers were free" (*Littledale*). They have to profess it as "the true Catholic faith, without which no one can be saved." The articles of the Church of England were long anterior to that presumptuous and unwarrantable document.

7. The first Romanist nonconformists.—We have referred on page 345 to the dissentients who declined to accept the English Prayer-book because of their papal predilections. Some of them were suspected of conspiring to set the queen of Scotland and France on the English throne and restore the Romish hierarchy, to prevent which Elizabeth sent open and secret aid to the Scottish reformers who were endeavouring to keep their queen in France. Severe statutes against the Romanists were passed in 1562, but there was very little need at first to enforce them. A strong government that is responsive to the instinct of self-preservation can generally command obedience through fear, if not by love, and although the Romanisers did not care for the



POPE SIXTUS V. (see page 359).

act of uniformity, they continued to worship in the churches as formerly. Foreign princes interested themselves on their behalf, and asked that the deprived bishops might have churches handed over to them in which they could use the Latin service-books. Queen Elizabeth replied, that "to grant them separate churches, and permit them to keep up a distinct communion, were things which neither the public interest nor her own honour would allow. . . . For there was no new faith propagated in England; no religion set up but that which was commanded by our Saviour, preached by the primitive Church, and unanimously approved by the ancient fathers." A very significant statement was afterwards made from the judicial bench by Lord-chief-justice Coke that Pope Pius IV. had sent a private nuncio to England in 1560, with an offer to agree to all the changes the English Church had made in the liturgy, the translation of the Scriptures, and the appointment of bishops, *if only his supremacy might be recognised*. That nuncio was forbidden to land, but the circumstance proves that the chief struggle between England and Rome was for the right of a national Church to be free from alien jurisdiction; and that no *new* faith was imposed on the English nation. Our further claim that each national Church has the right of adapting its services to the varying needs of race, and clime, and speech (so that

nothing be done contrary to the word of God and the customs of the primitive Church) had been allowed over and over again. In 1570, after the futile rebellion in the north of England (see page 358), when Pope Pius V. saw that all hope of recovering England by diplomacy had failed, he published a bull of excommunication (*Regnans in excelsis*) against Elizabeth; in which she was most insultingly described, her subjects absolved from their allegiance, the throne declared vacant, and all Christians loyal to the pope commanded to separate themselves from the mode of worship she upheld in her realm! A few persons obeyed that mandate, and became the *first English Romanists*, but the vast majority of English churchfolk who had cherished a lingering love for the papacy were so horrified at that exhibition of ultramontane insolence, against a monarch who was daily rising in popular esteem, that they at once became firmly loyal to the national religion. The English Church is not a schism from the Church of Rome, but English Romanists seceded from the old Church of England. An intrepid man who ventured to nail a copy of the above bull on the bishop of London's door was executed as a traitor forthwith, and the laws against Romanists were made increasingly severe. Public opinion was still further outraged when news arrived of the massacre of over 20,000 huguenots in France, at the instigation of Catharine de Medici, on St. Bartholomew's eve 1572. That fearful deed of blood was much praised by the pope, who ordered medals to be struck in commemoration; but it increased the bitterness with which Englishmen regarded everything papal, and gave the impending political struggles of our country against France and Spain the character of religious crusades. Cardinal Allen's "counter reformation" began about the same time. He set up English colleges at Douay and Rome where young men were trained with full purpose of being sent to "convert England to papal obedience." The chief mission was led by the Jesuit fathers *Parsons* and *Campion*. They knew that our laws were severe against them, but they accepted the risk and bravely bore the penalty when captured. They had advocated conspiracy and treason in order to compass their ends, and were dealt with as traitors. The people who suffered in Mary's reign, for professing a faith opposed to that which the government upheld, were avowedly burnt because their faith was held to be heretical; but Romanists who were executed in the time of Queen Elizabeth suffered because their religious beliefs led them to act as political offenders and traitors to the throne.

8. The first protestant nonconformists.—The English Church had other adversaries, more numerous and successful than the Romanists, in the extreme puritans who advocated the religious systems of Calvin, Luther, etc. They gave much trouble to Archbishop Parker, but far more to his successors. They had many friends in high places, and were well represented in parliament, from which Romanists were excluded because they refused to take the oath of the queen's supremacy; and they were continually reinforced by foreign refugees. Thus in 1567 the duke of Alba's persecution in the Netherlands drove many Dutchmen to England, who were allowed to settle in eight English towns and worship according to their convictions.



The church of the Austin friars was again appropriated to the use of those who settled in London, and the Dutch reformed Church has held it ever since. So too, after the massacre of St. Bartholomew, many huguenot families took refuge in England; besides which, and of far greater importance, correspondence was continued between the English clergy who had returned from exile and those with whom they had associated when abroad. When the English Prayer-book was enforced by the act of uniformity, and clergy were compelled to subscribe the XXXIX Articles (1563),

DUDLEY, EARL OF LEICESTER. some puritan preachers resigned their cures; but others remained to stir up strife within the Church, and several bishops gave them great latitude. They were also particularly encouraged in their disloyalty by Elizabeth's favourite, Robert Dudley, earl of Leicester, who wished to advance his personal interests by bringing the religion of England into harmony with the opinions and practice of anti-papal states on the mainland of Europe. Hence, many puritans objected to the inoffensive surplice, and to all adornment of churches; there were others who objected to the ancient system of government and discipline in the Church, preferring the method authorised by John Calvin; others again who wished to be perfectly "independent," with services and ministers to suit each congregation, so long as neither

were suspected of Romanism or episcopacy. The latter were led by *Robert Brown*, domestic chaplain to the duke of Norfolk, and master of a free school in London. He disobeyed the injunctions and was summoned before the high-commission court, but at the intercession of his patron was allowed to go to Norwich and minister to a large population of Calvinists who had come from Holland. He attracted other discontented persons and formed the *first dissenting community* (1568). His language became so violent and seditious that he was obliged to fly to the continent for safety. Ultimately (1581) he returned and confessed his errors, and was collated to the rectory of *Thorpe-Achurch* in Northamptonshire. But his novel system continued



ARCHBISHOP GRINDAL.

to spread, and it is now known as *congregationalism*. The opponents of episcopacy grew more numerous as the papacy grew more insolent; for puritans refused to dissociate the time-honoured and apostolic method of Church government from papal interpretations of it. All "prelacy" was hateful to them, because they wished to be quite untrammelled and undisciplined. At the close of 1570 *Thomas Cartwright*, a returned exile and Lady Margaret professor, lectured at Cambridge against episcopacy, the Prayer-book and 'habits' [vestments]. He was expelled from the university and migrated to Antwerp. In 1571, after passing the statutes (13 Eliz., c. 1 and 2) against Romanists and papal bulls, the puritans in parliament agitated for a more thorough reformation, and introduced two bills proposing alterations in religion on the Genevan model, which the house proceeded to discuss; but Elizabeth sent a very peremptory message down to say that no bills about religion should be dealt with unless previously approved by convocation. Then Cartwright issued pamphlets from Antwerp, called *Admonitions to Parliament*, in which the Church was violently attacked. These were widely circulated, and resulted in the formation of the *first presbyterian congregation* in England (1572).

The queen rebuked the bishops for their want of discipline, and when Bishop Jewel proved that the most violent puritanical preachers, *Heath, Button, Coleman, and Hallingham*, were Jesuits in disguise, whose object was to destroy the orthodox character of the old national Church, the revolutionary tide began to ebb. When Archbishop Parker died, Archbishop Grindal was translated from York to succeed him. He had been an exile in Queen Mary's reign, and was decidedly in sympathy with the puritans. He thought the disorders were owing to the scarcity of good preachers; so he encouraged the puritan debates called "*prophesyings*," although he knew they had been forbidden by the queen and by his predecessor as dangerous to discipline.

The queen exercised her supremacy by ordering their suppression. The new primate refused to comply; and was forthwith suspended by the *Star-chamber-court*, which took cognizance of offences against the royal prerogative. His see remained sequestered till his death in 1583, but he was allowed to perform the essentially archiepiscopal functions. Grindal's successor was *John Whitgift*, who had been Cartwright's opponent. He proved a strict disciplinarian. Some people think that he was too strict. It was then (1583) that the *court of high-commission* was established as a permanent



ARCHBISHOP WHITGIFT.

foundation to adjudicate on all offences against the acts of supremacy and uniformity. It consisted of forty-four commissioners, twelve of whom were bishops, twelve lay privy councillors, and the remainder clergy and laymen in equal proportions. Refractory puritans were quickly brought to order by its means, although not without many libellous attacks upon the bishops on their part; and chiefly in the notorious *Martin Mar-prelate tracts*, which abused and slandered everything connected with the Church's doctrine and discipline in libellous and unjustifiable language. The printing-press was thus made a terrible engine of sedition and blasphemy.

But good came out of evil—for men were moved to use tongue and pen in defence of the Church with far more power than the high-commission court could wield. The mastership of the Temple church happened to be vacant in 1584, and Lord Burleigh wished Cartwright's friend and supporter, *Walter Travers*, who was already reader there, to receive the appointment; but it was conferred on a remarkably able man whom the archbishop of York recommended, viz. *Richard Hooker*. A lengthened controversy then went on through the press between master Hooker and the reader Travers, which resulted in the production of the most famous defence of the Church of England ever written—*Hooker's Ecclesiastical Polity* (1594). No book ever did so much to prove the orthodox character of the English Church, or demonstrate more clearly that the best interests of the nation were bound up in its welfare. To set the puritan controversy at rest Archbishop Whitgift was induced to sanction a Calvinistic production



RICHARD HOOKER.

known as the *Lambeth articles* (1595), but convocation did not approve them, nor would Elizabeth give her sanction to their enforcement. They never had any authority in the Church, and their frigid terms testify to a desire for abstruse definitions which make religion intolerant.

9. Mary, queen of Scots.—In 1561 Mary Stuart became a widow, and returned from France to Scotland. She found the party which was led by *John Knox* in power, and the rule of Rome overthrown (see page 368). After fruitless attempts for seven years to govern herself or her kingdom she was forced to abdicate and take refuge in England (1568), where Elizabeth detained her as a prisoner of State. Every one knew that Mary was heir presumptive to the English throne, and it was equally well known that she favoured the Romanist party. The earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland raised a revolt on her behalf with the object of dethroning Elizabeth. The rising was speedily

suppressed and the promoters executed. It gave rise to new anti-papal statutes, especially the *Test act* (13 Eliz., c. 12) by which all civil officers were compelled to subscribe the XXXIX Articles. Henceforward Mary's presence in England was a source of danger to the state, and when Cardinal Allen's seminarists spread abroad their seditious teaching the puritan majority in parliament clamoured for her death. Several conspiracies were discovered against Elizabeth's life with which Mary was connected ; and in 1586 she was charged with complicity in such a plot. A number of Romanists under *Anthony Babington* had conspired to kill the English queen, and it was proved that Mary had corresponded with them. She denied that her intention had been more than to regain freedom, but the commissioners who tried her convicted her of treason, and she was beheaded at Fotheringhay castle Feb. 8, 1587. Her rights in the English throne were then claimed by Philip II. of Spain. There had been covert hostility between England and Spain for some time, each helping the other's foes, ever



MARY, QUEEN OF SCOTS.

since Elizabeth refused Philip's offer of marriage—but after Mary's death there was open war. Philip was the accepted champion of Romanists throughout Europe, and Elizabeth was looked upon no less as the hope of all reformers. Pope Sixtus V. gave his sanction to Philip's enterprise, and great preparations were made for the invasion of England and the restoration of papal supremacy. The threatened danger made men put aside their religious differences, and Romanist Englishmen freely joined with puritan Englishmen, side by side with the English Churchmen, in offering aid to the nation in its day of trouble by placing their ships, and money, and persons at its disposal in proof of their unanimous loyalty and patriotism.

10. The Spanish armada.—There is no more inspiring chapter in our national annals than the story of the Spanish overthrow. The love of the sea and its perils had never been absent from the descendants of the old sea-kings who made the British isles their home; and the names of Drake, Frobisher, Hawkins, Raleigh, with a host besides, will never be lost sight of in the history of maritime adventures; but they will be remembered best for the part they played in helping to defeat the Spaniards. In 1588 the English navy was small and badly equipped, and the threatened invasion by Philip was delayed so long that the volunteer vessels were actually paid off and ordered home, in the belief that he would not prosecute the crusade. But on the 19th of July a Scotch privateer ran into Plymouth bay to tell the English admiral, *Lord Howard*, that the Spanish fleet had been seen off the coast of Cornwall. Immediately the country and seaboard were alive with defenders. The English officers were playing bowls when that news arrived, but were not at all disconcerted. Drake's reply to the messenger, "There will be time to finish our game and beat the Spaniards too" is typical of the cool courage of our sailor warriors then. There was no panic, but all were filled with a loyal enthusiasm for the maintenance of home, and faith, and freedom. Warning beacons blazed on every hill as the appointed signals for rallying to the struggle.

"Far on the deep the Spaniards saw, along each southern shire
Cape beyond cape in endless range those twinkling points of fire."

And by the time the foe appeared in sight Lord Howard had the English fleet in trim. "Disposed in the form of a crescent, the horns of which were seven miles asunder, the gilded floating castles of Spain, with their goodly standards and their martial music, moved slowly along the channel with an air of indolent pomp." They were followed by the English ships, which kept up a running sea fight on any Spanish vessels that dropped astern; and that went on for days until the armada anchored in the Calais roads on July 27. It was commanded by the *Duke of Medina Sidonia*, who hoped soon to be joined by another imposing navy under the *Duke of Parma*. But the latter was blockaded by the Dutch in Flanders. Spain thought that its navy was "invincible," and did not look for much resistance. Some of its ships carried a supply of Romish priests, to be placed in charge of English parishes, and implements of the Spanish inquisition for the torture of "heretics." At midnight on July 28, the

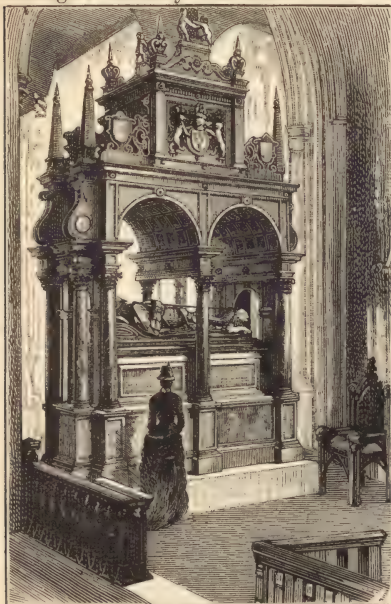
English silently towed eight small vessels covered with tar and filled with inflammable materials towards the armada, and having ignited them let them drift into the midst of the hundred and fifty gorgeous galleons. In terror the Spaniards cut their cables and put to sea in the greatest disorder. At daybreak the separated ships of the now disunited host were attacked by the active and well-managed English vessels and forced to fly. Had the English ships been better supplied with provisions and ammunition the historian might have had a different tale to tell. The foe was chased and worried as long as our stores lasted, and then the English boats were compelled



ENGLISH AND SPANISH WAR SHIPS. 1588.

to put in port for more. They had hardly done so when a storm arose which drove the Spaniards northwards. In the days before steamships were invented every sea voyage depended on the elements, and they now fought against Spain. The scattered fleet was driven among the Orkneys and Hebrides, while many vessels were dashed to pieces on the rocky coasts of Argyllshire, Antrim, Mayo, and Kerry; only fifty-four dismantled hulks returning to Spain. Of course there were great rejoicings in England for so memorable a deliverance, but it was felt (and who can doubt it?) that God's hand was working in and through all for the salvation of our Church and realm.

A commemorative medal was struck, bearing on its face the image of a storm-tossed fleet, and on the reverse side "AFFLAVIT DEUS, ET DISSIPANTUR!" It was the crowning mercy which finally freed our land from an odious foreign tyranny; for since that time the popes have made no attempt to subvert the national religion by violence. It was but natural that parliament should increase the severity of its statutes against Romanists, lest there should be any lingering hope of better success at a future time; so we read of new penal laws being passed in 1593, to banish some Romanists and restrict the movements of others; besides which many were executed on charges of treason. Some puritans also were executed for seditious writings, and all persons were compelled to attend their parish church once a month. Ultimately the land became peaceful and prosperous. The end of Lord Burleigh's ministry was marked by a reaction against puritanism.



LORD BURLEIGH'S TOMB, STAMFORD.

"As one by one the generation which had sustained the queen at her accession dropped into the grave, a generation arose which, excepting in books of controversy, knew nothing of any religion which differed from that of the Church of England. The ceremonies and vestments which in the time of their fathers had been exposed to such bitter attacks were to them hallowed, as having been entwined with their earliest associations. It required a strong effort of the imagination to connect them with the forms of a departed system which they had never witnessed with their eyes; but they remembered that those ceremonies had been used, and those vest-

ments had been worn, by the clergy who had led their prayers during those anxious days when the armada, yet unconquered, was hovering round the coast; and who had in their name, and in the name of all true Englishmen, offered the thanksgiving which had ascended to heaven after the great victory had been won" (*Gardiner*). And just before the century closed Hooker could say with sincerity—"There is not any man of the Church of England but the same man is also a member of the commonwealth; nor any man a member of the commonwealth which is not also of the Church of England."

11. National glory.—The Elizabethan period was a brilliant one for English literature—Francis Bacon laid a foundation for modern philosophy, and Hooker invested English prose with an eloquence and dignity it had never previously worn. *Edmund Spenser's Faerie Queene* has delighted all succeeding generations; and the affection for the memory of *William Shakespeare*, whose tomb within the chancel of Stratford-on-Avon church is visited by travellers from the ends of the earth, grows stronger and deeper every day. English ships then ploughed the seas in every direction. Men sailed around the world in voyages measured by



SIR WALTER RALEIGH.

years, and brought home specimens of its hidden treasures. The coast of Guinea was discovered by Sir John Hawkins, and Sir Walter Raleigh founded a colony in America from which sprang the state of Virginia, so named by him in honour of his patroness the "Virgin Queen" of England. Frobisher and Davis explored the Arctic Ocean, and a regular system of trading was established with the East Indies. The charter of privileges which Elizabeth granted to the Indian traders in 1600 was the commencement of the famed East India company which for so long ruled a large part of what is now our Indian empire. A settled faith, a world-wide

commerce, young and thriving plantations abroad, and a high-class literature—all of which contained in themselves the elements of permanence—those were blessings to be thankful for and proud of; fit to be remembered, though with a sense of responsibility, when we wish to turn aside from the unchristian feuds which disgraced the Tudor times. Of the *Church architecture* at that period not much can be said. Speaking generally it was a development of the “perpendicular” style, and made more and more florid by the introduction of excessive ornament, until its purity and grace was obscured; as is abundantly clear from the alterations which were made in many parish churches.

12. Summary of Part IV.—The chief object of the foregoing pages has been to show the continuity of Church organisation during the period when the Tudors reigned, and to point out that the statutes by which any changes were brought about expressly disclaim all intention of breaking that continuity. Excepting the celibate communities which lived by rule, and which were appendages rather than integral parts of the Church’s system, not a single corporation was dissolved. The Church’s corporate life remained unbroken, and all things essential to its existence remained unchanged. The ordinaries retained their jurisdiction, and administered the canon-law as before. The bishops still sat in the house of lords and by the same title as before. The convocations continued to sit concurrently with every parliament, as before. No historic fact is clearer than that the Church of England retained every essential element of her ancient organisation, her apostolic doctrines and her national character, all through the years when the Tudors reigned. *She never lost her identity.* She lost her old monasteries, it is true, and cast off many errors that the foreign clergy had introduced; but the bishops and parochial clergy retained their respective positions, performed their duties in the same churches to the same congregations, and retained such endowments as the monastic system had allowed them to keep. Corruptions were cut away, sometimes at the expense and loss of much that was good; the usurped power of the popes was successfully overthrown; *but no new Church was founded.* None of the Tudor princes ever thought of such a thing, nor was anything done by them with the assistance of parliament, that in any way affected the national Church, unless the Church herself had previously assented to the changes.

PART V

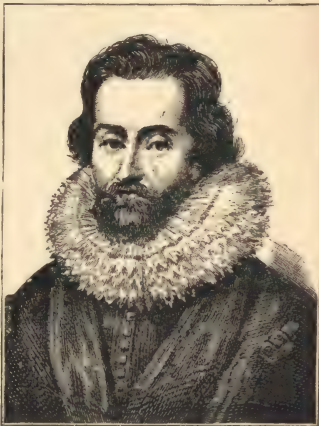
Era of Party Strife

CHAPTER XXI. (A.D. 1603–1625)

THE GROWTH OF PURITANISM

“In doctrine and communion they have sought
Firmly between the two extremities to steer
But theirs the wise man's ordinary lot,
They prophesy to ears that will not hear.”

1. The seventeenth century.¹—The epoch with which this division deals is characterised throughout by a struggle for constitutional government in Church and realm against the despotic power of the crown. Theoretically the laity had their representatives in parliament during the reigns of the Tudors, and, also in theory, the clergy had their representatives in convocation; but both clergy and laity had their constitutional liberty restricted by the personal authority of the monarch. And just as the independent spirits of puritanical clergy were restrained by the royal injunctions and the court of high-commission, so the murmurings of the commons were suppressed by the star-chamber courts. By the close of Elizabeth's reign the monarchy was almost absolute, and when James VI. of Scotland succeeded her as James I. of England, in 1603, he thought it advantageous to maintain an extreme view of royal supremacy by asking acceptance of the doctrine of “passive obedience” to the *divine right* of hereditary rulers over both clergy and laity. During the whole of



JAMES THE FIRST.

¹ For a fuller account of this remarkable epoch see the author's *Church and Realm in Stuart Times*, published by Edward Arnold, 32, Bedford St., W.C., price 3s. 6d.

the seventeenth century those pretensions of the crown "were subjected to a process of continual challenge, in ecclesiastical as in all other affairs. Parliament was gradually establishing its present position ; and the bishops and clergy were being taught to relinquish one set of relations for another, to exchange their immediate connection with the crown for a mutual action and reaction between themselves and parliament. From the reign of James I. to that of Anne we trace the gradual decay of the Tudor system of sovereignty, the gradual return in political matters to the principles of the old English constitution, and in ecclesiastical matters, the gradual growth both of the assertion of lay rights, and the acknowledgment of a limit to the exercise of those rights. At the end of the period all further changes in the relations between parliament and the Church are by general consent suspended." But all through the century the Anglican Church as reformed under the Tudors kept before it a noble purpose distinct from its relationship to the realm, wherein we may trace the principle of her undying life. "The secret of the strength of the Church of England since the reformation lay, not where Cranmer sought for it, in the power of the Church to influence and moderate the protestantism of the continent, with which it was politically allied ; not where Elizabeth and James I. tried to place it, in the support that the Church gave to and derived from the power of the crown ; but where Hooker, and Laud, and George Herbert found it. It lay in the right of the Church to the prestige and the traditions of the Church of the apostles and of the middle ages, in her fearless appeal to history, in the fact that, however great might be for the time her helplessness in the hands of the crown, however severe the buffetings of discordant opinion she had to endure, though she might change her model of worship, and in part remodel her constitution, nevertheless she preserved unimpaired the faith and the discipline of the Catholic Church."¹ The accession of James I. brought England and Scotland into closer union ; for although each country continued to make its own laws, and had a separate parliament, the same king ruled over both. But religion in Scotland had undergone a much greater change than in England.

2. Scotch presbyterianism.—From the days of St. Columba up to the twelfth century, the old Celtic Church of Scotland preserved its independence ; but it had to bow before the onward march of papal usurpation just as the Church of England had done. Their wild

¹ Professor Burrows' *Parliament and the Church of England*.



JOHN KNOX.

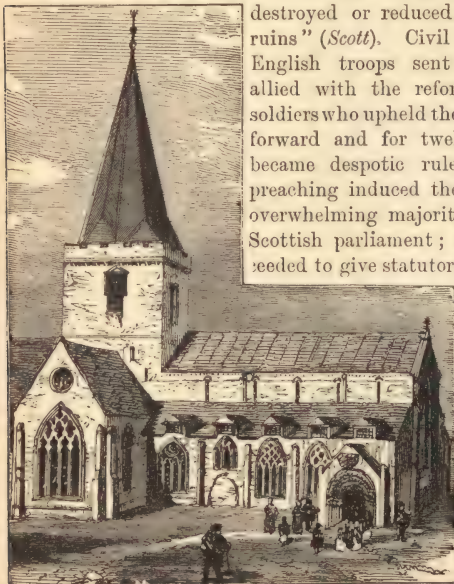
nature and their tribal feuds made the Scots a ready prey to the diplomacy of papal embassies when the sister kingdom sought for aid against Norman conquerors, and the Scots allowed the pope to claim feudal lordship over them that he might help them to keep the English south of the border. The ecclesiastical supremacy obtained by Anselm over the Scottish Church was only temporary ; for Pope Clement III. was induced (A.D. 1190) to declare the Scotch Church independent of any authority outside his own. After that the Scotch clergy fell into the worldly-minded habits of mediæval Christianity, and many scandalous proceedings are recorded ; as when an illegitimate son of the Scotch king James IV., a child of six-

teen years, was created archbishop and primate over the Scottish bishops with the sanction of Pope Julius II. ; until the cry went up in Scotland as elsewhere that the Church should be purified. But the Scottish reformation came like a deluge, sweeping away the good and the bad together, until nothing was left of the apostolic constitution which had descended from the old Celtic Christianity. John Knox, to whom we have already referred as an exile in Geneva, was the leader of the Scotch reformers ; and the example of England, with which his position of chaplain to Edward VI. had made him familiar, was speedily followed in the destruction of the Scottish monasteries. During the primacies of Archbishop Beaton and his successor in the see of St. Andrews, Cardinal Beaton, several reformers were burnt for heresy, notably *Patrick Hamilton* and *George Wishart*. The latter was much beloved, and he was terribly avenged. Sixteen zealots, led by *Norman Leslie*, stormed the castle of the cardinal who condemned the

reformer, and killed Beatoun. They flung his body upon the battlements of the castle at the place whence he had watched the burning of Wishart. Leslie, however, had a private feud with Beatoun, which some consider the true cause of the assassination. That was in 1546. The papalists redoubled their efforts to repress religious reformers, but that only served to spread their doctrines. John Knox returned to Scotland finally in the year 1559, at a time when the reformers were about to defend their headquarters in Perth by force of arms. He preached a sermon to them against image worship with such effect that the excited multitude immediately destroyed the ornaments, statuary, and stained glass in every church of the city, which they followed up by demolishing the stately Carthusian monastery there. "The example of the reformers in Perth was followed in St. Andrews and other places; and we have to regret that many beautiful buildings fell a sacrifice to the fury of the lower orders, and were either totally

destroyed or reduced to piles of shapeless ruins" (*Scott*). Civil war resulted (1560); English troops sent by Elizabeth being allied with the reformers against French soldiers who upheld the papal party. Thenceforward and for twelve years John Knox became despotic ruler of Scotland. His preaching induced the Scotch to return an overwhelming majority of reformers to the Scottish parliament; and they at once proceeded to give statutory effect to his teaching

by abolishing not only the papal usurpation, but everything belonging to primitive and apostolic church administration; and established the Calvinistic doctrines and method of church government. Episcopacy was done away, and all the old parochial and cathedral



THE OLD CHURCH, PERTH, N.B.

churches converted to presbyterian uses ; although quite unfitted in their construction and design for such use. With so little reverence were sacred edifices regarded that some were used for secular purposes. The *Lamentations of Scotland* thus bewailed their alienation.

“The rooms appointed for people to consider,
To hear God’s word ; where they should pray together—
Are now converted in sheep cots and folds,
Or else are fallen, because none them upholds.
The parish kirks I ween they sae misguide
That none for wind and rain therein may bide.”

Still more sad was the fanatical destruction of the Scotch religious houses. It was enough for the multitude that John Knox had said “the true way of banishing the rooks is to pull down their nests ;” and the ruins of Iona, Melrose, Dryburgh, Kelso (see page 471), Jedburgh, Dunfermline, etc., sufficiently attest how thoroughly his maxim was applied. He may not himself have wielded a hammer or an axe to destroy those noble monuments of bygone Scottish devotion, but he stirred the people up to deeds of vigorous iconoclasm at the thought of which we shudder. [It is right to remember that the monasteries in Great Britain were not all destroyed by Henry VIII. His commissioners had no authority beyond the Tweed, for Scotland was not then united to England.] John Knox proposed to endow his new presbyterian Kirk with the revenues of Scotch monasteries, but the lords of the congregation circumvented him. “His plan was,” they said, “a devout imagination, a visionary scheme, which showed the goodness of the preacher’s intentions, but which it was impossible to carry into practice” (*Scott*). The Scottish reformation materially differed from that in England. Our land has always retained the ancient Christianity and kept true to the “apostolic doctrine and fellowship.” But Scotland, in 1560, by one legislative stroke in a day of fanatical madness, solemnly abjured and repudiated the historical orthodox faith and worship in order to get rid of papal authority ; instead of endeavouring to restore the undoubted independent rights of the ancient Church as was done in England. Later on attempts were made to restore episcopacy (see pages 375–6), but not before the success of presbyterianism in Scotland had given encouragement to English advocates of that system and aroused bitter political opposition to Calvinism from the English constitutional party. At the same time we should bear in mind that Calvin’s method of Church government was the only definite religious system which presented itself in those days as

an alternative to the episcopacy which many clergy and laity, who wished to prevent any subsequent efforts of Spain and the Jesuits to re-introduce papal supremacy, were unable to dissociate from Romanism. The cry of "*No popery*" was bred of a wholesome national antipathy to an odious foreign tyranny; but it was fed and nourished upon an equally foreign idea that everything that had been touched or used by Rome was necessarily false and vicious. Whereas (speaking historically, and apart from the question of her accretions of error and unauthorized dogma) there can be no doubt that the Church of Rome was as much a true and apostolic branch of the catholic Church for Italy, as our own national Church is for England. It is equally certain that Calvin's system was quite as intolerant of all other religions as the arrogant papacy: and they were far-sighted men who, in the chaos of reforming opinions, were able to perceive that adherence to primitive belief and practice, as recently purified from corruption, was the logical course for the Church in England to pursue.

3. The Hampton-court conference.—When it became certain that James VI. of Scotland was to be the English king also, all parties pressed their congratulations upon him and sought to obtain his patronage; but he soon made it plain to them that he would continue to maintain Elizabeth's order of government and procedure. The religious parties at that time were (1) the loyal members of the national Church; (2) the disaffected Romanists, who had not yet given up all hopes of obtaining the kingdom for the pope; and (3) the equally disaffected puritans, who supposed that the advent of a king who had ruled presbyterian Scotland would help forward their schemes. The leaders of the latter, comprising the extreme *separatists* and many clergymen within the Church of England who upheld Calvin's theories, drew up a manifesto for presentation to King James (1603). It is known as the *Millenary petition*, although far less than a thousand ministers had signed it. In it they pleaded for a revision of the Liturgy which should exclude all symbolism (such as the ring in marriage); and all words which gave a sacerdotal character to the clergy, or implied the idea of a sacrifice in their sacramental ministrations. The petition also prayed for liberty not to wear the surplice, and the removal of certain abuses of patronage, non-residence, pluralities and discipline. The result of their petition was that the king called together an assembly of divines at his palace of *Hampton-court* in January 1604; at which

the puritans were asked to state their grievances, with a view to their removal if they were found to be real ones. James I. presided. The objections were found to be chiefly against the government of the Church; and in favour of presbyterianism, as in Scotland, which they contended was best for the peace of the kingdom and the safety of the monarch. But the king had had some experience of its tendency there, and was glad of an opportunity to be rid of it. He seized the first chance to express his opinion that "presbyterianism agreeth as well with monarchy as God with the devil. . . . Let that government be once up we shall all of us have work enough, and both our hands full." The king had written one or two theological books before his accession, and was pleased when he could show himself an arbiter of religious questions. His opinion of the puritans, as expressed in his speech to his first parliament, was that they were



HAMPTON COURT IN THE 17TH CENTURY.

"schismatics" and "novelists." Probably no thought of schism was as yet entertained by the puritans—but only a desire to impose their views upon other people's consciences. They agreed that there ought to be uniformity, but it must be an uniform observance of doctrine and discipline in accordance with the foreign protestant reforming ideas. James I. was quite convinced that presbyterianism ought to be suppressed forthwith as dangerous to the state; and the end proved that his estimate of its principles was correct. The attitude of James was mainly political, but churchmen were willing enough to be used by him as agents in the suppression of malcontents. To this end the canons drawn up by convocation in 1603 were submitted to the clergy for acceptance. Those canons are still binding on the English Church; and a perusal of them will show how harmless was their nature. Some have become obsolete by force of custom, but

the bulk remain as a standard of practice for the clergy ; and they clearly explain the position of those who, at the conference of Hampton-court, contended for the "ancient customs." Several minor alterations were made in the liturgy as the result of the conference, and the latter part of the catechism was added ; but the plain words of the proclamation, printed in the revised issue of the Prayer-book to which all were bound to conform, will of themselves give us a contemporary idea of the nature of puritan demands, and the desire of those in authority to defend the ancient usages.

"We cannot conceal that the success of that conference was such as happeneth to many other things, which, moving great expectation before they be entered into, in their issue produce small effects. For we found mighty and vehement informations supported with so weak and slender proofs, as it appeared unto us and our council, that there was no cause why any change should have been at all in that which was most impugned, the book of Common-Prayer, containing the form of the public service of God here established ; neither in the doctrine which appeared to be sincere, nor in the forms and rites which were justified out of the practice of the primitive Church. Notwithstanding we thought meet, with consent of the bishops and other learned men there present, that some small things might rather be explained than changed ; not that the same might not very well have been borne with by men who would have made a reasonable construction of them ; but for that in a matter concerning the service of God we were nice, or rather jealous, that the public form thereof should be free, not only from blame, but from suspicion ; so as neither the common adversary should have advantage to wrest ought therein contained, to other sense than the Church of England intendeth, nor any troublesome or ignorant person of this Church be able to take occasion of cavil against it."

The puritans were browbeaten, but in no way convinced, by James at the conference ; and complained that they had been unfairly treated. Archbishop Whitgift died on the last day of February 1604 ; and it was left for his successor, Richard Bancroft, to enforce the acts of uniformity and the tests of subscription ; which he did with unyielding persistence. Outward conformity, such as Whitgift had been content with, was insufficient ; and the clergy who hesitated to declare their hearty willingness ("*ex animo*") to subscribe the XXXIX articles, canons, and liturgy were expelled from their benefices. The number of deprivations is said by the puritans to have been 300, but Archbishop Bancroft stated that there were only forty-nine. Either way we see that the disaffected clergy were an insignificant minority ; and discipline was of all things the most essential to the Church's well-being. In 1610, when a noted puritan named *George Abbott* succeeded Bancroft as archbishop, and allowed recalcitrant clergy to act more freely in the direction of Calvinism, the most deplor-

able results ensued ; which heightened the contrast made by the efforts of his own successor, *William Laud*, to restore reverence in public worship. Meanwhile disaffected Romanists had been busy.

4. The gunpowder treason plot.—Before Elizabeth's death the popes had come to see the unwisdom of trying to subjugate England by force ; and as Clement VIII. had written to James, before the latter came to the throne of England, to assure him of papal support in the event of his accession, there is no reason to suppose that Rome had any share in the conspiracies against the life of James promoted by fanatics who professed obedience to the papacy. Indeed some Jesuit fathers took care to inform the government when such a design was discovered by them in 1603. On his part James had promised not to enforce the penal statutes of Elizabeth's reign against Romanists, in return for papal acquiescence in his peaceful accession ; but he found that public opinion against Rome in England was too strong for their abolition. When he remitted the fines imposed on *recusants*¹ he was accused of tampering with "antichrist" ; and so rapidly did the Jesuits swarm into the country, giving out that James had become a member of the Roman communion, than which nothing was farther from his thoughts, that he was obliged to order all Romish priests out of the country and strictly enforce the recusancy fines. When the Romanists found that James had no intention to play false with the national Church, certain daring spirits among them conceived the horrible idea of annihilating king, lords, and commons by blowing up the houses of parliament with gunpowder ; on the day that all should be gathered together to hear the king's speech at the opening of the legislative session. The chief conspirators were *Robert Catesby*, at whose country house at Ashby St. Leger the plot was hatched, and *Sir Everard Digby*, who provided most of the funds. None of the conspirators were of mean estate, and they solemnly swore by the blessed sacrament not to divulge their plan nor cease to prosecute it until the design was fulfilled. Our illustration (p. 374) shows the London house of Catesby, where the plot was matured. For eighteen months the preparations went on, and no one broke the oath of secrecy.

¹ The Romanists who refused to obey the Elizabethan act of uniformity were subject to heavy fines for non-attendance at their parish church on Sundays and holydays, and were called *recusants*, a French word derived from the Latin *re*, against, and *causa*, a cause. The word was applied to those only who rejected the royal supremacy, and therefore to Romanists chiefly.

A vault was rented under the parliament house, where they stored thirty-six barrels of gunpowder, which they covered over with coals and sticks; and they often left the door wide open to allay suspicion. A few days before parliament assembled *Lord Mounteagle*, a Romanist peer, was warned by an anonymous letter from the conspirators not to go to the opening ceremony. The letter stated that parliament should "receive a terrible blow and not see who hurts them." Mounteagle showed it to the prime minister, who laid it before the king; and James at once suspected what was intended. The vaults were searched and the gunpowder discovered, but care was taken that none



GUNPOWDER CONSPIRATORS' HOUSE, LAMBETH.

should know that it was found out; and when *Guido Fawkes*, the conspirator who had volunteered to fire the train, repaired to the vault to make his final preparations (Nov. 5, 1605) he was surprised and captured. The other conspirators aroused suspicion against themselves by absconding from their London lodgings into the country. They were pursued and overtaken; many being killed while fighting desperately, which they preferred to an ignoble surrender; but most of them were made prisoners and reserved for torture and execution.

As the result of statements extracted from them a proclamation was issued against certain Jesuit priests ; and at the end of January 1606, all the conspirators suffered the extremest penalty provided by statute for the punishment of high treason. That diabolical conspiracy deepened the national aversion against Romanism into indelible hatred. It availed nothing that the majority of Romanists repudiated the plot and regarded it with loathing ; for the parliament which had so narrowly escaped destruction passed still more severe laws against "popish recusants." Thenceforth a Romanist was not allowed to enter any profession or place of trust ; their houses were liable to be visited at all times by the magistrates ; and, most impolitic of all, they were forced to participate periodically in "the blessed sacrament of the Lord's supper" in their parish church. From that time Romanists ceased to be an element of danger to the state. Outcasts from honourable society, they realized that their personal safety consisted in passive obedience to the law ; and it is fair to say that, in spite of the desire of the puritans, the statutes against them were not severely enforced after the first flood of horror had subsided. The annual demonstrations in memory of that fifth of November, and the regular search still made of the vaults beneath the present houses of parliament before the commencement of every session, shows how abiding is the recollection of the danger then averted. So providential was the deliverance felt to be, that a special form of thanksgiving service was annexed to the book of common-prayer for use on the anniversary ; and remained there until the year 1859. No one can regret its disuse, for the service contained many phrases wanting in Christian charity towards the Church of Rome. Deeply as all must regret the connexion between Romanists and treason plots in days gone by, and however much we may deplore her defection from apostolic doctrine, we shall not mend matters by our own hard words. The more excellent way is to

"Speak gently of our sister's fall :

Who knows but gentle love

May win her at our patient call

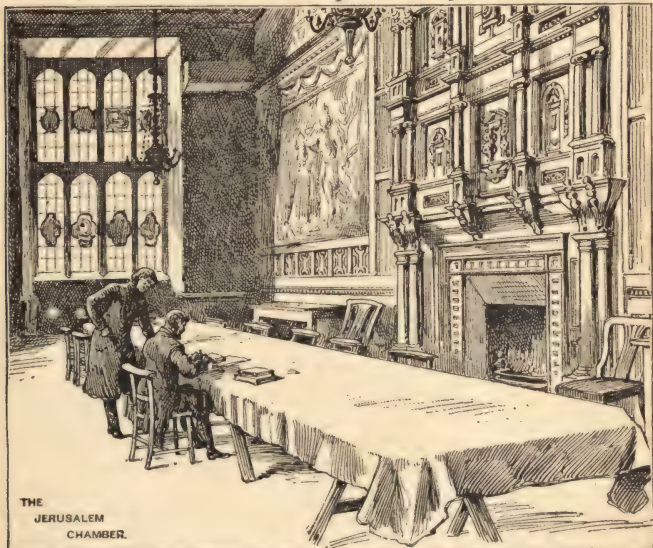
The surer way to prove?" (*Keble.*)

Meanwhile James I. had prevailed upon the Scots to receive a number of bishops as "constant moderators" for their presbyteries. Three Scotsmen were afterwards selected for consecration and sent to London (A.D. 1610). The Scotch parliament had previously restored the episcopal estates that had been seized in the time of John Knox.

The Scotch prelates were duly consecrated by the bishops of London, Worcester, Rochester, and Ely, and empowered to form a high commission court for Scotland. On their return to the north they consecrated other bishops; and in 1618 they issued the *Five Perth Articles* which enjoined kneeling at the reception of holy Communion; observance of the great festivals of the Church; instruction of the young in the creed, Lord's prayer, and ten commandments; private communion to sick folk; and private baptism to children in danger.

5. The "authorised" version.—Although no alteration of consequence took place in the liturgy as the result of the Hampton-court conference, an important retranslation of the Scriptures was decided on. James clearly saw that a new translation would add to the glory of his reign, and heartily welcomed the proposal. Forty-seven scholars were selected, from both universities and the learned clergy of all schools of thought, who were divided into six companies: two of which met at Oxford, two at Cambridge, and two in the Jerusalem chamber at Westminster-abbey. Each scholar took one chapter at a time for careful revision, and his emendations would be carefully revised by his company and then handed on for final revision to the other companies in turn. The object was not to make a new translation altogether, for the text of "Parker's Bible" was to be used as a basis; and it was not to be altered either in phrase or division of chapters, except where necessary for the sake of accuracy. The revisers were allowed to make marginal notes in explanation of Hebrew and Greek words, and insert cross references to parallel passages in other parts of the Bible, but the king instructed the revisers that no other marginal comments should be added, because he had found in the Genevan translation "some notes very partial, untrue, seditious, and savouring too much of dangerous and traitorous conceits." No pains were spared by the translators, and in 1611 they published that which has since been considered the greatest treasure of English literature; known to us as the *authorised version* of the Bible; which is still used by Churchmen and nonconformists alike as the pure Word of God—"able to make us wise unto salvation." Thus the English Bible is the gift to the world of scholars belonging to the Church of England; and as the Scriptures have in all ages been her standard of duty, nothing will be found in her doctrines or services opposed to its spirit and plain teaching. The 1611 version was the first Bible printed in the modern Roman type; all previous editions were in "old English" characters.

The end of the preface "To the most high and mighty prince James," still printed at the beginning of the English Bible, is worth reading. A final reference may here be made to the necessity of biblical revisions. With the changes of custom as ages rolled along came the adaptation of old words to new meanings, and of new words to things old; while intercourse with other countries caused the incorporation of foreign words into our vernacular; until many ancient words appeared obsolete, and modern ones were required to express the older sense.



But there is a greater reason than that why the authorised translation of the Scriptures should be revised from time to time; as was recently done in the same Jerusalem chamber at Westminster, whence the *revised version* was issued, the New Testament in 1881 and the Old Testament in 1885. The friendship of our country with other lands has enabled us to compare the manuscripts from which earlier translations were made with still more ancient manuscripts preserved in foreign theological libraries. The careful collation of these manuscripts, so as to find out which passages have the greatest authority and which

are doubtful, has enabled modern scholars to furnish us with a much more exact rescript than the means available 300 years ago could do ; and therefore, in spite of its frequent interference with the rhythm of the older translation, the revised version will always be preferred by those who value accuracy, although it may not be publicly read in Church services. Those who consider the modern revision unsuccessful, because it is not issued with authority, should remember that it took many years for the "authorised" version to win its way into public favour ; for many continued to use the older versions which they had learned to love, just as many persons now, forgetting that all English versions are merely translations from the ancient Hebrew and Greek, imagine each word and letter of the 1611 translation to be inspired by God. On the other hand, the fact that most people prefer the version which was dedicated to James I. may be taken as proof that (in spite of criticisms heaped upon it in modern days by grammarians, linguists, and fault-finders generally) its rhythmical cadences that fall so pleasantly on our accustomed ears are remarkably true to the original. Moreover, no great doctrine taught by it has been refuted by the most searching comparisons of recent days. One who in our own generation left his ancestral Church of England for the Roman communion (Dr. Faber) must have mingled heartfelt regrets in his retrospect of the past when he wrote of the authorised version that "it lives on the ear like a music which can never be forgotten, like the sound of church bells, which the convert scarce knows how he can forego. Its felicities seem often to be almost things rather than words. It is part of the national mind, and the anchor of the national seriousness. . . . The memory of the dead passes into it. The potent traditions of childhood are stereotyped in its verses. It is the representative of a man's best moments ; all that there has been about him of soft, and gentle, and pure, and penitent, and good speaks to him for ever out of his English Bible."

6. The puritans.—King James had closed the Hampton-court conference with this parting threat to the puritans:—"I will make them conform, or harry them out of the land." Consequently many of the ministers who had been deprived for refusing submission to the acts of uniformity or the canons ecclesiastical, and many of their followers who declined to attend the parish churches, sought new homes elsewhere ; at first in Holland and afterwards beyond the Atlantic. The first permanent settlement of Englishmen in America was in Virginia (A.D. 1607-8) ; though that was not a colony of religious



PURITAN COSTUMES.

refugees, but an incorporated company under royal charter, whose members conducted their religious worship on Church of England lines exclusively. In 1620 a band of separatists sailed in the *Mayflower* from Leyden, in Holland, and after encountering many hardships landed on the eastern coast of America, inside cape Cod, at a place they called *Plymouth*, in memory of the last English land they had seen, and that little colony became the nucleus of what are now the "New England" states. Ten years later there commenced to flow from old England a constant stream of harassed puritans, with *John Winthrop* for their leader, and these founded the cities of *Boston*, Mass., 1630; *Providence*, R.I.,

1636; and *Newhaven*, Conn., 1638. By 1640 it was computed that 20,000 emigrants had found their way thither. Those "Pilgrim Fathers" are still revered as patriarchs of the "New-England" States. They were not content with founding a home where religious toleration might be had, but insisted on making their own intolerant puritanism supreme and exclusive. All who declined to accept their interpretation of doubtful passages of Scripture were banished from their colonies; and any who, having accepted it, sinned against their moral code were rigorously punished.¹ On the other hand,

¹ "We shall seek in vain for a parallel to the massacre of the Pequod Indians. It brought out the worst point in the puritan character. . . . The intolerance with which the puritans had been treated at home might at least have taught them a lesson of forbearance to each other. But it had no such effect."—(Marsden's *Puritans*.)

we sorrowfully recognise that the decadence of personal piety in England merited rebuke from pious emigrants. The age they lived in had developed many evils, and there were no longer any monastic societies in which austerity of life could be cultivated. Fashionable frivolities were expressed in the silks, satins, frills, velvets and curls worn by gentlemen; while its graver vices were openly manifested by intemperance, evil speaking, and unchastity. The puritans who emigrated in order to escape from such temptations to sin were better advised than those who remained in England to lay the vices of their day at the door of episcopacy in order to supplant it. Many puritans felt it incumbent upon them to dress in simple attire of sombre hue, and crop their hair close, by way of contrast to the fashionable follies; and when King James issued his *Book of Sports* (A.D. 1617) as a corrective to the boisterous revels of local fairs and feasts on Sundays and holy-days, they responded by publications in which all pleasures, amusements, and personal adornments were declared sinful. The conscientiousness of many leading puritans is not doubted, but their ostentatious pretensions to higher spirituality than other folk gave canting hypocrites a golden opportunity. We chiefly deplore their defection from the paths of antiquity in favour of novel systems of worship and doctrine. Their affectation was an exaggeration of the truth that man has a personal relationship with the Creator, from which they argued that each individual was called upon to settle for himself the form of worship most suited to his own condition. This attitude was taken up specially by the separatists who in time were called *Independents*; and they were as much opposed to presbyterianism as they were to episcopacy, simply because they objected to any form of ecclesiastical discipline.

7. Abbot, Andrewes, and Laud.—Archbishop Abbot had made his house “a sanctuary for the most eminent of the factious party, and he licensed their most pernicious writings” (*Clarendon*), so that he soon lost the favour of King James. But not before he had shown that he could be intolerant to others, for he helped to revive the statute for burning heretics. In 1612 two poor men were burnt for their religious opinions:—*Bartholomew Legate*, at Smithfield, March 3; and *Edward Wightman*, at Lichfield, April 11; for denying the eternal Divinity of Jesus Christ. Many years had passed since people had been burned for heresy, and Abbot came in for a full share of the consequent public indignation. About the same time James I. embarked on a policy of absolutism; and his principal adviser

was the versatile *George Villiers*, duke of Buckingham; whose steps were dogged by the greatest in the land whenever they wanted any piece of promotion. Under the patronage of Buckingham an anti-Calvinistic party in the Church came into favour, which was nicknamed *Arminian*, although there is nothing to show that its leaders were in any way connected with the Dutch movement properly so called.¹ The spiritually-minded bishop, *Launcelot*



BISHOP LAUNCELOT ANDREWES.

Andrewes, following in the wake of Richard Hooker, may be considered the father of the party although not its chief exponent. The object of its members was to resist the advance of Calvinistic principles by an appeal to history, reason, and Scripture; so as to demonstrate that episcopacy is a divinely ordered form of Church government, that the Church of England in her organisation, discipline, ceremonial, doctrine and liturgy could claim relationship to the apostolic Church by an unbroken lineage, and that her

reforms, and repudiation of papal control, did not put her out of harmony with other national branches of the universal Church. This involved an admission that the Church of Rome, though greatly corrupted, was a true lineal descendant of the apostolic Church for Italy; and the national dread of anything that tended to exalt or excuse the papacy brought a torrent of abuse on those who taught such principles. Such deductions were not new, and they were undeniably just and accurate, but it may be doubted whether the

¹ *James Harmensen* (Latin *Arminius*) was a professor of divinity in the university of Leyden. His opinions were opposed to Calvin's theories on the five points of election, redemption, free will, grace, and final perseverance. He died in 1609, and his views were condemned at the Calvinistic *synod of Dort*, A.D. 1618; at which James I. was diplomatically represented by a bishop, a dean, and two Cambridge professors, all known to be of puritan sympathies.

exponents of those opinions were wise in forcing them to logical conclusions at such a time. A prominent member of that new party was *William Laud*, who as fellow and president of St. John's-college, Oxford, had frequently been in controversy with Archbishop Abbot when the latter was master of University-college. Laud was made chaplain to James I. in 1611; and in 1616 the king gave him the deanery of Gloucester, where the cathedral had been so much neglected that James said to Laud: "Scarce ever a church in England is so ill governed and so much out of order." Laud at once proceeded to set things right by repairing the grand edifice (as he afterwards did the cathedral church of St. Paul in London), promoting reverence in worship, and removing the communion table from the body of the church to the east end. At once a cry of "popery" was raised by some, and Laud was designated "a priest of Baal" by others. But he had convinced himself that obedience to the canon-law of the Church was binding on all her members, and not even for his bishop would he bow to the storm. He braved it with the aid of the high-commission court, with the result that the services of the cathedral were rendered rubrically, though much ill-feeling was engendered. In 1621 Laud was made bishop of St. Davids, and in the following year he held a public disputation with a Jesuit whose pseudonym was *Fisher*, which James I. and Buckingham attended, in which, following Hooker and Andrewes, Laud showed that Church of England doctrines were more than a system of negations; for that they had been grounded upon holy Scripture, were in accordance with primitive Christianity, justified by human reason, and approved by inward conviction. The ability with which Laud conducted that controversy with "Fisher" increased the favour in which he already stood at court, and from that time he was one of the ecclesiastical advisers of the crown.

8. Progress of Anglican principles.—The puritans were very bitter at Laud's rapid advancement, and endeavoured to throw all the odium of political disturbances upon the party which he favoured. They saw that toleration was being extended to Romanists, that the penal laws were not strictly enforced against them, and that recusancy fines were often remitted. Negotiations had long been pending for a marriage between Prince Charles (the son of James I.) and a Spanish princess, which the nation resented; and although they came to nothing the project served to put the country in a ferment. Popular antipathy increased when in 1623 the pope was allowed to send a

bishop *in partibus* to superintend the English Romanists. He was known as the *bishop of Chalcedon*. The Spanish armada and the gunpowder treason were still fresh in living memories; and any leanings towards toleration for or reconciliation with recusants, or approximation to their modes of worship, however historical or primitive, was considered by many to be dangerous to the peace of the realm. Moreover, James I. was engaged in a struggle with his parliament. His ideas of the "divine right" of kings led him to consider himself irresponsible to the people, and when he refused to give an account to parliament for certain acts which they considered outside his prerogative they refused to provide him with the necessary funds for keeping up the court and carrying on affairs of state. Lovers of Church order and reverence, who desired to enforce obedience to canon-law, upheld the authority of the crown; while those who wished to be free from all restraint in religion sided with the parliament. Thus two opposing parties were rapidly becoming established: The *Anglican*, which identified itself with absolute monarchy; and the *Puritan*, which was jealous of the liberties of parliament. And



WILLIAM LAUD

whereas King James had exceeded his prerogative in levying taxes without consent of the legislature, so did parliament exceed its rights in meddling with religious affairs. And it seems clear that many godly-minded preachers, who were shocked by the corruptions at court and in society, identified themselves with the separatists. Apart from politics the Church of England was invulnerable, because it had the intellectual breadth and guidance of sixteen centuries of Christian thought and discipline; but puritanism apart from politics had no element of cohesion whatever. Yet there was so close an intimacy between civil and ecclesiastical affairs during the Stuart times, that a distinct advantage was acquired by opponents of Church principles whenever

the monarch persisted in asserting an absolute right to rule without parliamentary control. Hence the prominence given to the writings of a parish priest named *Richard Mountagu*. The parliament which met in 1624 contained many puritan members; and it received a petition from a Calvinistic lecturer respecting the pamphlet called "*A new gag for an old goose*," which Mountagu had written in reply to some Jesuits who were proselytising in his parish, and who had stupidly supposed that certain puritan fancies were Church of England doctrines. In it he took the strongest possible ground for overthrowing the arguments of his Jesuit opponents by admitting that the Church of Rome was a true Church, although corrupt, and claiming for the English Church an equally historic though less superstitious position. When parliament met, and proceeded to inquire into the matter, Mountagu denied its right to judge matters of doctrine, and appealed to the king. In the midst of that controversy James I. died (March 27, 1625), and when parliament met again Mountagu had been made chaplain to Charles I. The new king had also married the sister of the king of France, a pronounced Romanist, who brought with her a crowd of French attendants and some Romish priests; so that the puritan element was thoroughly roused. When Charles asked parliament for money to carry on the war against Spain, which the duke of Buckingham had rashly entered on, it only voted a small sum; and spent much time in discussing and condemning Mr. Mountagu's opinions. Charles I. dissolved parliament and called another (1626), but with no better success; for it impeached the duke of Buckingham, and returned to the charge against Mountagu. To save his favourite the king dissolved his second parliament, and had recourse to the system of forced loans to raise money for his expeditions. Those who would not pay he imprisoned, and the court chaplains were set to preach in favour of his unconstitutional proceeding. They did so with vigour, and in terms of which we are now ashamed. *Dr. Sibthorpe, e. g.* preached a sermon at Northampton inculcating the duty of passive obedience to the king even when his commands were opposed to Scripture. When Archbishop Abbot was asked by the king to license it he promptly declined, and was suspended for so refusing. A *Dr. Mainwaring* also, rector of St. Giles' Cripplegate, maintained that regal power was a participation of divine omnipotence, and that parliament was merely an assistant of the crown. Those extravagant sermons were published by royal command, and provoked much political ill-feeling against the court clergy.

CHAPTER XXII. (A.D. 1625-49)

KING versus PARLIAMENT

“ Weep, oh ! weep,
Weep with the good, beholding king and priest,
Forsaken by the God to whom they raise
Their suppliant hands. But holy is the feast
He keepeth, like the firmament His ways,
His statutes like the chambers of the deep.”

1. The petition of right.—No one need doubt the sincerity and uprightness of Charles I. From infancy he was trained to believe in the “divine right of kings,” he placed implicit trust in his father’s counsellors, and believed every word that Sibthorpe and Mainwaring preached in the sermons just referred to. That he was grievously misled we now know well, and we are willing to excuse some of the results of that misdirection in return for his unfailing loyalty to the national Church ; but it would be wrong to conceal the fact that the subsequent troubles were caused by his ill-advised policy. The rash expeditions against Spain had failed ; and Queen Henrietta’s French attendants were stirring up strife at court, because the penal laws against recusants continued in force ; although her marriage had been arranged on secret conditions that they should be withdrawn. That withdrawal the country would never have allowed, and therefore the French courtiers and clergy had to leave England. The result was a war with France, and more money was needed which Charles tried to raise by forced loans. Buckingham led the first expedition against the French by attempting to relieve the huguenot stronghold of *La Rochelle* which the great French statesman, *Cardinal Richelieu*, was at the time besieging ; and having failed disastrously returned to England for further supplies of money and men. As there was no hope of raising funds without consent of the legislature, Charles called together a third parliament (1628) ; but the members refused to grant any subsidies until their ancient privileges were restored. They objected to Laud’s opening sermon, and proceeded to appoint a committee of religion to discuss the writings of Mountagu and Mainwaring, together with a devotional book for private use which *John Cosin* had composed by the king’s request to supply an expressed need of the queen’s ladies for some such devotional manuals as they had been accustomed to in France. Dr. Mainwaring was prosecuted before the house of lords, heavily fined, suspended from ministerial functions, and his sermons were

condemned by proclamation ; but the king retorted by remitting the fine, revoking the suspension, and presenting the offender to a valuable benefice. Parliament then threw all the blame of their civil grievances on Buckingham, and drew up the famous *Petition of Right* which provided (1) That no freeman be required to give any gift, loan, benevolence, or tax, without common consent by act of parliament ; (2) That no freeman be imprisoned or detained without trial or cause shown ; (3) That soldiers and mariners should not be billeted in private houses or punished by martial law. Charles

was obliged to assent to that petition in order to obtain the necessary subsidies. It was an effectual check to the absolutism of the Stuarts. Charles hoped that his friend Buckingham might regain popularity by a second and more successful attempt to relieve La Rochelle ; but the favourite was murdered before he could leave Portsmouth by a fanatic named John Felton. Parliament next drew up a *Remonstrance* against the " Arminian " clergy, especially Bishop Neile of Winchester and Bishop Laud ; which the king warmly resented. He at once pro-



THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

rogued parliament, and immediately afterwards Laud was made bishop of London, and Mountagu bishop of Chichester. The Calvinists then gained ground so rapidly that the king was advised by Laud to prefix a *Declaration* to the XXXIX articles (it is still printed before them in our Prayer-book), which declared convocation to be the proper body to order and settle ecclesiastical affairs ; that only the plain, literal and grammatical sense shall be put upon the articles ; and that all disputations respecting them should cease. That brought matters to a climax. There had also been a discussion as to the meaning of the petition of right : the commons alleging that the king was thereby prohibited from levying taxes of any kind, while the king claimed that as it did not expressly mention import duties of tunnage on wine, and poundage on certain other commodities, he had still the right to levy and appropriate those

duties. In the recess several London merchants refused to pay the customs duties and were imprisoned. When parliament reassembled a direct attack was made upon the declaration and the duties. The house of commons resolved itself into a committee of religion; and a Mr. Rouse proposed that parliament should take a solemn vow, by which all interpretation of the articles that differed in any way from the Calvinistic sense was to be rejected; Mr. Pym, in support, declaring that parliament alone had the right "to establish true religion." The latter seemed to think that the Lambeth articles (page 358), which had never been in any way recognised by the Church, were the only true tests of doctrine. The commons worded their vow accordingly; and summoned to the bar some clergy who had presumed to carry out the services of the Church in accordance with the rubrics; especially Dr. Cosin, who had tried to set Durham cathedral in order. Pending their arrival the house of commons considered the question of tunnage and poundage, and cited the custom-house officers to their bar for having detained the merchandise of one Rolle who happened to be a member of parliament. It seemed as if they wanted members engaged in trade to be free from the imposts other merchants had to pay; for they deliberately rejected Pym's advice to make a general claim for all men to be freed from duties not imposed by parliament, and persisted in treating the affair as a question of privilege, by which their own members were aggrieved; although the commons had not been deprived of Rolle's services, seeing that the seizure took place when parliament was not sitting, and that the house had never made any decree on the subject. Charles I. protected the customs officers as having obeyed his orders, and commanded the adjournment of the house until March 2. On that day there was a great tumult, and Sir John Eliot moved a resolution that "whoever should bring in religious innovations, or seek to extend or introduce popery or Arminianism, or levy taxes without consent of parliament should be reputed a capital enemy to the kingdom and commonwealth." The speaker wished to adjourn the house, but two members, Holles and Valentine, held him down in his chair by force, while another locked the doors to keep the house in session. The king was kept informed of the proceedings, and when he heard of the speaker's powerlessness he went to the house accompanied by his guards, arriving just in time to hear the shouts of "aye! aye!" which indicated that the resolution was passed. Charles at once dissolved parliament, and did not call another for eleven years.

2. Arbitrary civil government.—The first thing done after the dissolution of parliament was to bring Eliot, Holles, Valentine, and others before the court of king's-bench. They were charged with riot and sedition, but they refused to acknowledge the authority of the tribunal. For refusing to pay the fines imposed they were committed to the Tower, where ultimately Eliot died and was buried. He was not strong, and imprisonment doubtless hastened his end. He firmly believed that parliament was the controlling power of the



JOHN HAMPDEN'S HOUSE, BUCKINGHAMSHIRE.

constitution, and independent of the king. Charles felt that if the estates of the realm were not subject to his rule his kingly dignity would be at an end. It was a struggle between parliamentary and monarchical despotism. The chief advisers of Charles henceforward were Bishop Laud and Thomas Wentworth (afterwards *earl of Strafford*) whom the king had won over from the opposition (1630). Wentworth sought to govern by the policy of absolutism which came to be known as '*Thorough*.' Weston was lord-treasurer at the time and he adopted all manner of schemes for replenishing the exhausted exchequer. One of

the most unpopular was Noy's revival of ship money; a tax often imposed in times of national danger, such as the Spanish invasion. Weston enforced it on the ground that a fleet was necessary to guard the coasts from pirates. But whereas in former times the tax was a temporary expedient, and furnished chiefly by the seaport towns in the shape of ships fully equipped for service, Weston made it permanent; and claimed money equivalents from landed proprietors in every county upon a systematic basis. Many murmured at the imposition and some deliberately refused to pay, among them being a Buckinghamshire squire named *John Hampden*. A lawsuit was entered against him in the king's name before twelve judges in the court of exchequer. Five judges agreed with Hampden's council that the king could not impose ship money as a regular tax without the consent of parliament; but the other seven decided that acts of parliament could not bind the king as to when and how taxes should be raised to meet the necessities of state; and therefore Hampden lost the day. Notwithstanding, parliamentarians held that his refusal to pay the tax was justifiable; and so he became an hero of his party (A.D. 1637). By that time Wentworth had been made viceroy of Ireland, where he wielded absolute power in the king's name, and compelled obedience through fear; caring nothing that his policy of "thorough" was heaping up future retribution against himself and his friend Laud.

3. Laud's administration.—There can be no question as to the severity with which Laud proceeded to enforce ecclesiastical discipline after the dissolution of parliament, but we must try not to misunderstand the position of affairs. Laud had the Prayer-book and the acts of uniformity on his side; and most of those to whom he was opposed wished to ignore the one and alter the other. It was not a question of toleration, but a question as to which side of religious opinion should have the right and power of compelling uniformity. Each party believed that its existence depended upon the repression of the other; and Laud worked resolutely from a high sense of duty when he set himself to purge the historical Christianity of England from the stern and cold puritanism that had been introduced from foreign reformed systems, and allowed to run riot under Archbishops Grindal and Abbot. From the beginning to the end of his career Laud never wavered. The principles he enunciated at Oxford he carried into practice at Gloucester, St. Davids, Bath and Wells, and London; and when almost unlimited powers were accorded to him by the king,

with the opportunity of enforcing discipline by means of the high-commission court and punishing offenders in the court of the star-chamber, he used his authority without a thought of consequences ; although he was sensible that failure meant death. It should be remembered in favour of Wentworth and of Laud that they were altogether careless of popularity, and never wavered in their determination to do what they felt to be right, not even when persons of high social position were charged before them. In after days when called to account for his administration Laud said, "I laboured nothing more than that the external public worship of God—too much slighted in most parts of this kingdom—might be preserved, and that with as much decency and uniformity as might be ; being still of opinion that unity cannot long continue in the Church, when uniformity is shut out at the church door." It was a great mistake to suppose that Laud desired to introduce religious innovations ; for, when striving to set his dioceses in order and to regulate his province, after he became primate in succession to Abbot (A.D. 1633), he never went beyond the rubrics, canons, and statute-law of England, as interpreted by the courts of his day. But it is possible to strain the law to its full limits : and that undoubtedly was done by imposing the severest penalties allowed by law, as when Mr. Sherfield was fined £500 for wilfully breaking a stained-glass window in a church near Salisbury. A rigid censorship over the printing-press was carried on, and severe punishments were meted out to those who ventured to publish any books or pamphlets against the Church or the king ; as when in 1630 *Dr. Alexander Leighton* was flogged and eareropped for libelling the queen and attacking the bishops in a book against prelacy. The *Book of Sports*¹ which James I. had issued in 1617, to license certain games on Sundays and holy-days after service time, had been made the basis of a furious attack by the

¹ It should not be thought that the *Book of Sports* introduced sabbath breaking. In reality it restricted Sunday and holy-day recreation to games that were in themselves harmless, and insisted upon prior attendance at church services. There was need for such restriction even as there is in our day ; and church-folk welcomed the advice of the Lambeth conference in 1888—"The due observance of Sunday as a day of rest, of worship, and of religious teaching, has a direct bearing on the moral well-being of the Christian community. We have observed of late a growing laxity which threatens to impair its sacred character. We strongly deprecate this tendency. We call upon the leisurely classes not selfishly to withdraw from others the opportunities of rest and religion. We call upon master and employer jealously to guard the privileges of the servant and the workman. In 'the Lord's-day' we have a priceless heritage. Whoever misuses it incurs a terrible responsibility."

puritans ; and Chief-justice Richardson, during his assize circuit in Somersetshire (A.D. 1633), had prohibited their continuance ; and even went so far as to command the clergy to announce his prohibition during service time ; a piece of interference with ecclesiastical affairs that brought upon him so stern a reproof from the archbishop that he exclaimed, as he left the council chamber whither he had been summoned, " I have almost been choked with a pair of lawn sleeves." The outcome of that was an official republication of the *Book of Sports*



INTERIOR OF THE STAR-CHAMBER.

which the clergy were imperatively commanded to make known to their assembled congregations. The object of the book was to promote healthy and manly exercises for the general public at times when enforced idleness would have driven them into sin ; but to many of the puritans it seemed to be a direct incentive to breaches of the fourth commandment. They were called "Sabbatarians." Some clergy refused to publish the book in church and were deprived for disobedience. About that time a puritan lawyer, named *William Prynne*, wrote several treatises to satirise the fashionable levities of his day ; including

a book called *Histriomastix* or "scourge of stage players," in which he not only protested against the questionable dramas of the day, but abused the bishops and libelled the queen. Other men followed his example in writing and printing scurrilous libels against the government and the Church, notably *Henry Burton*, a puritan preacher; and *John Bastwick*, a medical man. They were brought before the star-chamber court and each sentenced to pay £5,000 fine, to stand in the public pillory and have their ears cut off, and then be confined for life in distant prisons. It is unfair to charge Laud with the chief responsibility of such cruelty. Mutilation was not considered an excessive punishment in an age when men were hanged for stealing a sheep; and Laud's position as a judge in the star-chamber court, which he shared with others, did not give him power to create laws and penalties, but only the duty of administering existing law. There is no reason to suppose from his stern disciplinary measures that he was at all vindictive to individuals or cruel by nature. The ecclesiastical side of Laud's administration in England may be summed up thus: he endeavoured to enforce the uniform use of the surplice in the church services, the restoration of the "communion tables" to their original position at the eastern end of churches, the attendance at service of parishioners at least once every Sunday, and the suppression of the Calvinistic lectureships which had been set up in opposition to the proper parochial ministry. All that was done by means of a general visitation of his province A.D. 1633-36. The result was orderly uniformity where chaos had reigned before, but with many clergy it was only an outward conformity prompted by fear of consequences.

4. The Scotch liturgy.—Laud had often been disturbed by the thought that in Scotland no attention was being paid to primitive discipline or uniformity in public worship. He had accompanied James I. to Scotland in 1617 and Charles I. in 1633. On the first occasion he supported a plan to introduce the English liturgy as the standard of worship in the half episcopal, half presbyterian Kirk, but his efforts then did not meet with success. When Laud became chief counsellor of Charles I. he tried again, and it was arranged for a new service-book to be compiled with the assistance of Scotch divines. When published it was found to be very similar to our English Prayer-book, but different in several important points; any variations being caused by Laud's desire to incorporate such parts of ancient Greek liturgies as would make the book more approximate to the doctrines of

the universal Church before the disunion of east and west. Laud would have preferred an uniform use of the English book pure and simple throughout the three kingdoms ; but he was overruled. Many Scotsmen objected to all forms of prayer, and busily spread abroad many inaccurate reports of Laud's intentions. The introduction of the new liturgy was most unwisely preceded by the enforcement of English canon-law without the concurrence of Scotch legislators. An adverse public opinion was therefore roused against the use of the new book even before its publication and quite apart from its merits : indeed in absolute ignorance of its contents. Without paying attention to public opinion, Laud went straight forward in the course he felt to be right ; and on the sole authority of the king and bishops, without making any provision to maintain order in case of organised disturbance, the new book was ordered to be used in every



ST. GILES'S CATHEDRAL, EDINBURGH (*see next page*).

parish throughout Scotland on and after Easter-day, 1637. At the last moment its use was weakly postponed until July 23, when it was used for the first time in the cathedral of St. Giles's, Edinburgh, in the presence of the Scotch bishops. A great crowd had gathered within and without the church at the time of morning service; but the dean, who read prayers, had hardly reached the collect for the day when *Jenny Geddes* flung the stool on which she had been sitting at his head. Then the coloured windows of the church were smashed, and the clergy maltreated, the bishop of Edinburgh hardly escaping with his life. That riot was the prelude to a general resistance throughout Scotland, and not until it was too late was any attempt at conciliation made by Charles and Laud. Numerous petitions were forwarded to the king and council against the Prayer-book and the canons, which received no attention; till at last the Scots resolved to do away with service-book, bishops, and all; and revert to the presbyterian system which John Knox had introduced.

5. War with Scotland.—On March 1, 1638, the "*National Covenant*" drawn up in 1580 against Rome was revived, and subscribed by nineteen-twentieths of the Scottish people; not because they were so stupid as to suppose that all bishops were Romanists and every service the mass, but because they felt that in imposing a liturgy upon the Scots without consent of their own parliament the king had disregarded their ancient rights and liberties. The Scots then insisted upon subscription to the *revised national covenant* as the only basis of common intercourse with one another or with England; and appealed to arms in support of their resolution. The general assembly of Scotland, in which presbyterian ministers outnumbered lay representatives in the proportion of 144 to 96, then assumed the direction of affairs; not with any view of obtaining religious liberty, but in order that absolute conformity to presbyterianism, under penalties, should be enforced upon all Scotsmen. Civil war being unavoidable, both sides prepared for conflict; but while the Scots readily offered their money and persons for their cause, and did not disdain to accept pecuniary aid from France, the English soldiers were half-hearted and ill provisioned. Charles I. was compelled to make peace upon the first opportunity, and allow the Scots to regulate their own ecclesiastical affairs by a new general assembly in concurrence with the Scottish parliament. But Charles soon became dissatisfied with the Scottish deliberations, because they only confirmed

and enforced the covenant ; so Strafford was sent for from Ireland, where he had succeeded in compelling an obedience to English rule, that he might help to reduce the Scots to order. Strafford and Laud advised that an English parliament should be called together, hoping that its loyalty would be aroused to the extent of provisioning a new army to fight the Scots. But when that parliament met in April 1640 it declined to vote subsidies until English grievances were redressed, and the war with Scotland abandoned. The king at once dissolved it. Convocation usually sat concurrently with parliament and separated at the same time.

But in 1640 convocation continued to sit after parliament was dissolved, in order that the clergy might vote subsidies in the shape of a "benevolence" for the king's necessity. That was felt to be a doubtful proceeding, although the judges pronounced in its favour ; so a royal writ was issued authorising the members to sit and act during the king's pleasure under the name of a *synod*. That assembly proceeded to make new canons to justify the policy of Laud, one of which was to prevent Scottish disaffection from spreading into England—by imposing the following oath upon the clergy :—



QUEEN HENRIETTA MARIA.

"I, —, do swear that I approve the doctrine and discipline or government established in the Church of England, as containing all things necessary to salvation, and that I will not endeavour by myself or any other, directly or indirectly, to bring in any popish doctrine contrary to that which is so established ; nor will I ever give my consent to alter the government of this Church by archbishops, bishops, deans, and archdeacons, *et cætera*, as it now stands established."

Popular opinion at once cried out against the *et cætera* clause, as if it imposed an oath requiring approval of something left blank and undefined ; whereas the objectionable word meant nothing, being only a careless error. The oath was not enforced, but it furnished occasion for the puritan politicians to stir up enmity against the Church ; and when the Scots defeated the royal forces at *Newburn* (August 28, 1640)

discontent against the government and Church had reached its highest pitch. Charles then called a council of peers to advise him what to do; but as they declined to act apart from the house of commons, the unhappy king was obliged to issue writs for a general election.

6. The long parliament.—On November 3, 1640, the new legislative body came together and was found to contain a large majority of members opposed to the policy of the government and



WENTWORTH, E. OF STRAFFORD.

the English episcopate. They knew that the king's financial necessities were urgent, and they knew also that by declining to vote subsidies until their own privileges were secured, they stood a better chance of obtaining the king's consent. Their leader was *John Pym*; and their first business was to impeach Lord Strafford for his civil government, and obtain his committal to the Tower. Their second business was to release the puritan libellers—*Prynne*, *Burton*, *Leighton*, *Bastwick* and others—from prison; and compensate them handsomely out of the estates of the men who had been their judges. Then Dr. *Cosin* of Durham was impeached before the lords for "superstitious

practices," but was acquitted. The *et cætera* oath and other canons of the recent synod were declared illegal. On Nov. 10 invited petitions against Archbishop *Laud* were dealt with, and on Dec. 18 the house of commons accused him before the lords of high treason. He was then arrested and shortly after sent to the Tower. Other bishops who had been strict in their discipline were accused in like manner, though permitted to be at large under heavy bail. Parliament then issued a commission to deface and demolish all monuments, images, altars, and painted windows in the churches; and appointed a committee of religion to consider objections to the Church's system of government and worship. The next event (March 1641) was the trial of Strafford in the house of lords; but as it was difficult to prove charges of

treason against him by the ordinary legal processes, a special act of parliament, called a bill of attainder, was passed by the commons against him, by which sentence of death could be carried out without further trouble (April 21). The house of lords gave a reluctant assent to the measure (May 7), but the king's assent was still required. It was a hard trial for Charles to be called upon to consent to the summary execution of an adviser whose ministerial life had been wholly spent in faithfully serving him, especially as he had given Strafford a solemn promise of protection; but parliament was clamorous for his death and Charles gave way to it (May 10). When Strafford heard that his fate was sealed he exclaimed, "Put not your trust in princes." He was beheaded May 12. A pathetic description has been left us of Strafford's journey from the dungeon to the scaffold. He had to pass the prison window of his late colleague in the government, Archbishop Laud, so he stopped by appointment to receive the primate's blessing. But Laud was unable to speak a word for sorrow, and could only bestow a silent benediction with his outstretched and trembling hands. Strafford's death was the first important limitation of absolute monarchy. The same day that Charles signed the bill of attainder against Strafford he made a still more fatal concession, by giving his assent to another bill by which it became illegal for the legislative body to be dissolved without its own consent. As the parliament then sitting withheld its consent for many years it obtained the significant name of the *long parliament*. Thus fortified, the house of commons proceeded to revenge itself upon the Church of England and the king. By the end of July statutes had been passed abolishing the star-chamber and high-commission courts, and others prohibiting the hateful ship-money and the customs' duties. The Scots then received an indemnity, both armies were disbanded, and the king made a progress to Scotland.

7. Outbreak of the civil war.—It soon became apparent that Mr. Pym's party was not satisfied with the concessions already obtained, and that it was determined to control religious questions. A *grand remonstrance* was passed (Nov. 22) by a majority of eleven; setting forth the autocratic proceedings of Charles I. and his ecclesiastical advisers since the beginning of his reign, and demanding safeguards against any recurrence thereof. The document was printed by order of the commons, and scattered broadcast over England. It was in fact an appeal to the people to vindicate Mr. Pym's party against the king,

who was known to be desirous of extricating himself from its tyranny. The leaders of the "Church and king" minority in parliament were Lord Falkland and Edward Hyde, but they were constantly outvoted. When the king returned from Scotland and saw how things were going he brought a charge of treason against Pym, Hampden, Holles, Haselrig, and Strode; and even went down to the house with a guard to arrest them in person; but they sought protection from the municipality of London, which favoured the idea of larger powers for parliament. The king then went to the provinces with the intention of raising an army to frighten his adversaries. Pym's party demanded also the



LORD FALKLAND.

charge of all fortified towns and cities and the command of the militia; which the king refused to sanction (March 9, 1642). It was no longer a question of constitutional government, but whether a majority in parliament or the king should rule absolutely. Pym's friends had the advantage, and proceeded upon a course in which they themselves performed every unconstitutional act which they had considered to be public offences when performed by the king in council. On Aug. 22 Charles I. set up his standard at Nottingham, and invited all who were for Church and king to rally round it. Thirty-two peers and sixty members of the house of Commons at once responded; and the remaining members set up a rival army, and passed laws without much opposition, enforcing new taxes to defray their expenses. The history of the civil war will not be looked for in these pages, but it should not be forgotten that the struggle was quite as much on behalf of the ancient national religion against a novel puritanism, as it was on behalf of absolute monarchy against parliamentary government. The civil and religious questions were not separated then. Not a single remonstrance or proposition was made by Pym's party to the king unless the two questions were connected. The songs of the cavaliers invariably combined the causes, and the parliamentarians never essayed a battle without fortifying themselves with copious extracts from the Old Testament Scriptures.

Moreover they speedily entered into an alliance with presbyterian Scots (Sept. 25, 1643); and bound themselves to carry out the "solemn league and covenant" to extirpate popery and prelacy. Here are some of its provisions:—

"That we shall sincerely really and constantly through the grace of God . . . endeavour to bring the Churches of God in the three kingdoms to the nearest conjunction and uniformity in religion, confession of faith, form of Church government, directory for worship and catechising. (2) That we shall in like manner endeavour the extirpation of . . . Church government by archbishops, bishops . . . and all other ecclesiastical officers depending on their hierarchy. (3) We shall, with the same sincerity . . . endeavour . . . to preserve the rights and privileges of the parliaments and the liberties of the kingdoms: and to preserve and defend the king's majesty's person and authority . . . that the world may bear witness with our consciences of our loyalty."

In other words Pym's party resolved to destroy the ancient Church of England and enforce conformity to presbyterian methods; and their open war with the king is a sufficient comment upon their professions of loyalty. Thenceforth a "life or death" struggle ensued in which the throne and the historic national Church were at stake.

8. The long parliament and the clergy.—We may fairly interrupt the chronological sequence at this stage to consider some of the troubles the clergy had to suffer at the hands of the puritans. In Dec. 1640, the majority in parliament appointed a special committee to invite and deal with any complaints its friends might care to make against the clergy, and to deprive all such incumbents as the committee should judge to be "*scandalous ministers*." That committee was soon exceedingly busy with numerous complaints; and the accused persons were summoned before it from all parts of the country, their parishes being deprived of clerical ministrations while they waited their turn to be examined. The prejudiced and partisan statements of political informers were accepted readily; but no rebutting evidence was allowed, or counter petitions and testimonials of character admitted. When we come to examine the charges made they appear to have consisted chiefly of offences against puritan ideas respecting public worship; notwithstanding that they might have been in perfect accordance with the rubrics and canon-law. We may cite, as examples of the teaching and practices so opposed, some opinions of the saintly priest *George Herbert*; who had for two years administered the parish of Bemerton, near Salisbury. He died just before Laud was elevated to the primacy, but he left

behind some thoughts in prose and verse, which help us to form some idea of the high standard set up, and in many cases followed by the clergy in public and private. None who now read his poems upon discipline and ecclesiastical symbolism would think that those who carried out the ideas they express deserved reproof. For all who objected to uniform rules in religious matters he wrote :

“Thou livest by rule ! who doth not so but man ?
Houses are built by rule, and commonwealths.
Entice the trusty sun, if that you can,
From his ecliptic line : beckon the sky !
Who lives by rule then, keeps good company.

And his belief as to the middle position between papal and puritan extremes occupied by the national Church is frankly stated :—

She on the hills, which wantonly
Allureth all in hope to be
By her preferred,
Hath kissed so long her painted shrines,
That e'en her face by kissing shines,
For her reward.

She in the valley is so shy
Of dressing, that her hair doth lie
About her ears :
While she avoids her neighbour's pride
She wholly goes on th' other side,
And nothing wears.

But, dearest Mother (what those miss),
The mean thy praise and glory is,
And long may be !

Outward forms of worship had for him high spiritual lessons, and everything of which the sanctuary itself was composed—the very lock and key, the porch, the windows, the music, the monuments, even to the tessellated pavement of the church—all meant something ; but it was just that reverence for symbolism, appealing to the heart through outward senses, which the puritan majority in the long parliament could not abide. Those who put a literal interpretation upon the precept of St. Paul that “at the name of Jesus every knee shall bow” were considered as great criminals, for whom no punishment was too excessive. There were however many members who declined to go to such outrageous lengths. *Sir Edward Dering, e.g.*, by no means a favourer of the Church until the violence of his colleagues drove him to sympathise with her, thus addressed the speaker of the house when the draft instructions for the committee of inquiry respecting “scandalous” ministers were being discussed :—

“And must I, Sir, hereafter do no exterior reverence—none at all—to God my Saviour, at the mention of his saving name Jesus? Why Sir, not to do it,—to omit it, and to leave it undone, it is questionable, it is controvertible ; it is at least a moot point in divinity. But to deny it,—to forbid it to be done ;—take heed, Sir,

God will never own you if you forbid his honour. Truly, Sir, it horrors me to think of this. For my part, I do humbly ask pardon of this house and thereupon I take leave and liberty to give you my resolute resolution. I may, I must, I will do bodily reverence unto my Saviour; and that upon occasion taken at the mention of his saving name Jesus. And if I should do it also as oft as the name of God, or Jehovah, or Christ, is named in our solemn devotions, I do not know any argument in divinity to control me. . . . In a word, certainly, Sir, I shall never obey your order so long as I have a head to lift up to Heaven—so long as I have an eye to lift up to Heaven! For these are corporal bowings, and my Saviour shall have them."



GEORGE HERBERT'S RECTORY HOUSE, BEMERTON.

That was a privileged utterance in parliamentary debate; but many hundreds of clergy who endeavoured in like manner to carry out the rubrics and obey the canon law were expelled from their benefices as "*malignant*" clergy, their places being filled by puritan preachers, many of whom were illiterate and unordained men. After Pym's party had accepted the covenant all the clergy were called upon to sign it; and throughout the civil wars, in all places where parliamentarians gained authority, such ministers as refused to sign the covenant were reported to parliament as *malignant*, and proceeded against accordingly.

"No fewer than 7000 clergymen were upon this ground rejected from their livings; so faithful were the great body of the clergy in the worst of times. The extent of private misery and ruin which this occasioned, aggravated in no slight degree the calamities of civil war. It was not till some years had elapsed that a fifth part of the income was ordered to be paid to the wives and children of the sequestered ministers: and then the order had no retrospective effect; in most instances it was disregarded, . . . and even had it been scrupulously paid, few were the cases wherein such a provision could have preserved the injured parties from utter want" (*Southey*). Dismantled castles and bishops' houses (notably Lambeth-palace, Ely house, and Winchester house) were used as prisons for the "malignant" clergy.

9. The long parliament and the bishops.—One reason why no mercy was shown to the clergy was that they were but parts of a system that withstood the advance of puritanism. They were members of an episcopal Church, and episcopacy was hateful to the majority of the long parliament; although there were a few members in favour of it, and many who would have been satisfied with a limitation of its powers. So early as May 1, 1641, a bill passed the commons to prohibit bishops from dealing with temporal matters; the object being to exclude them from the house of Lords and privy council lest their opposition should prevent puritan measures passing. But the house of lords rejected the bill by a large majority. The commons retorted by introducing the famous *Root and Branch bill* for the entire abolition of episcopacy and its dependent hierarchy as mentioned in the "et cætera" oath. So drastic a measure could not be expected to pass without much opposition. It had been introduced by Sir E. Dering, but during the debate upon the second reading he said that he had done so without due consideration of its purport, and that he was convinced that bishops, if not of apostolical institution, were yet of apostolical permission. "For of and in apostolical times, all stories, all fathers, all ages have agreed that such bishops there were." In consequence of the opposition the bill was abandoned until after many members had withdrawn from the house to follow their king. The grand remonstrance contained so many accusations against episcopacy that after it was published an outbreak of popular indignation was easily manufactured against the order. In December 1641, armed mobs surrounded the house of lords and so persistently

threatened the prelates that they were fain to escape through byeways, and disguised for fear of their lives. The bishops then drew up and signed a protest against their ill-treatment; wherein they explained their ancient right to legislate as an estate of the realm, as a body whose order had taken part in the government of the land centuries before the house of commons existed, and declared that all measures passed by the peers in their absence would be illegal. When the commons received the protest they at once impeached a number of the bishops for treason and sent them to the Tower. In their absence it was easy enough to pass a bill excluding them from the house of Lords (January 1642); but it was not until the royalists left the parliament that the commons ventured to reintroduce the "root and branch" bill. They did so, however, on September 1, 1642, in order to provide a basis for negotiations with the Scotch, who had refused to aid the parliament against the king unless presbyterianism was enforced upon the three kingdoms. It passed the attenuated house of lords in 1643. None of those measures were legal statutes, because they did not receive the royal assent, nor was parliament itself representative of the nation at the time, seeing that the royalist minority was excluded from its deliberations. One of the demands in the petition of right (page 386) was that no person should be arrested and detained in prison without a speedy trial; but that was one of the first rights of the subject which the long parliament violated. Without trial it confined many bishops and large numbers of clergy in prison during its pleasure; and also without trial they had kept Archbishop Laud imprisoned in a dungeon of the Tower nearly four years;



WM. JUXON, BISHOP OF LONDON.

"Prejudged by foes determined not to spare,
An old weak man for vengeance thrown aside."

William Prynne, who had been punished by the star-chamber court, was very bitter against Laud, and was commissioned by the commons

to collect evidence against him. The trial dragged along from November 1643 to November 1644. Laud had previously been ruined by the enormous fines imposed upon him as compensation to Prynne and others. He bore imprisonment with exemplary patience, and defended himself throughout his long trial with remarkable vigour and courage. He was arraigned upon fifteen different charges of treason, with a view of proving him guilty of a conspiracy to overthrow the constitution. When they could not be substantiated he was charged with an attempt to introduce "popery"; on the slender ground that he had received the offer of a cardinal's hat, that he had mended the stained-glass window of Lambeth-palace, and that he had Romish books and missals in his study. He was able to show that he had refused the cardinalate at a time when there was neither honour nor profit in remaining true to the national religion, while wealth and ease awaited him if he would renounce it. "It is true, my lords," said he, "that I had many missals; but I had more of the Greek liturgies than the Roman, though I had as many of both as I could get. I would fain know how we should answer their errors if we may not have their books. I had liturgies, all I could get, both ancient and modern. I had also the Koran in divers copies; if this be an argument why do they not accuse me to be a Turk?" His accusers then urged that if no one act of Laud's could be called high treason, yet in the aggregate they amounted to it. A Mr. Hearne, who was one of Laud's counsel, at once replied, "I cry you mercy, Mr. Serjeant; I never understood before this time that two hundred couple of black rabbits would together make one black horse." When it was felt that the accusations might break down his foes did the same as they had done with Strafford; they brought in a bill of attainder which passed the commons Nov. 16; but it was not until Jan. 4, 1645, that the lords could be prevailed upon to give their assent. Six days later he was led out to Tower-hill for execution. After an earnest discourse to the assembled crowd, and a very impressive prayer which he had prepared for the occasion, Archbishop Laud knelt beside the block and uttered these words: "Lord, I am coming as fast as I can; Lord, receive my soul and have mercy upon me; and bless this land with Christian love and charity, for Jesus Christ's sake." Then with one blow of the axe his head was severed from its body.



10. The Westminster assembly.—The real authors of Laud's judicial murder were the "godly and earnest divines" nominated by Pym's party to advise it in religious affairs; a most intolerant assembly, composed in part of members of the attenuated parliament and in part of extreme puritan ministers from Scotland and England, which met in the chapel of Henry VII. at Westminster. By its advice the solemn league and covenant was enforced upon all persons in the country above the age of eighteen. By its advice the public use of the Prayer-book was forbidden under penalties the very day that the primate was executed, and a *Directory for public worship* substituted for it. By the directory it was made an offence to kneel at the reception of holy Communion, or to use any kind of symbolism in sacred things, such as the ring in marriage; and when any person



A PURITAN SOLDIER.

departed this life the dead body was to be interred without any kind of religious ceremony, nor were the friends allowed to sing or read, or pray, or kneel, at the grave, although secular display in funeral processions of persons of rank was not restricted. Then the holy and beautiful petitions of our liturgy, though sanctified by the devotions of Christians in every clime and by every tongue for fifteen hundred years and more, gave place to long and tedious harangues from illiterate fanatics, of two and three hours' duration; and the observance of great Church festivals, together with all anniversaries, was strictly forbidden. On December 19, 1644, a solemn ordinance of parliament was passed, by the advice of the Westminster assembly, commanding that the hitherto joyous anniversary of our Lord's nativity should be observed as a day for national fasting and humiliation. To what lengths the assembly would have gone had it been allowed free course it is impossible to say. An inordinately long formula in question and answer, called the *Larger Catechism*, was drawn up as a means of testing the orthodoxy of those who were supposed to be proficient in religion; and a *Shorter Catechism* was compiled for "those of weaker capacity." Owing to those efforts presbyterianism was established as the national religion of England for a time.

But only for a short time, because the parliamentary army, which had been fighting against the royalists with more or less of success, was by no means disposed to allow religious affairs to be settled without having a voice in the matter. Most of the original volunteers who composed the parliamentary army were presbyterians, as were the 21,000 men whom the Scots brought over the border to help them in January 1644. But a very large proportion of English puritans were afterwards associated with them who objected to any uniform Church government; because they perceived that the little finger of the West-



PRINCE RUPERT.

minster assembly might be thicker than the loins of episcopacy had been; and they refused to be satisfied unless parliament would allow toleration for all religious bodies that were not governed by bishops. The longer the civil war lasted the stronger that party grew, much to the annoyance of the "godly and learned divines" assembled at Westminster. Those "*independents*" of the army were under the leadership of a shrewd Huntingdonshire gentleman, *Oliver Cromwell*; and after his brilliant victory over Prince Rupert at the battle of Marston-moor (July 2, 1644), in-

dependents took the lead. That there was no love lost between

Cromwell's party and the presbyterians may be gathered from remarks of *Robert Baillie*, a Scottish divine, who recorded the Westminster assembly proceedings. "The independents," he wrote, "have the least zeal for the truth of God of any men we know." And again, "if we carry not the independents with us there will be ground laid for a very troublesome schism." Whereas Oliver Cromwell considered that all his independent ironsides were "earnest and godly men," whose hearts were in the cause of civil and religious liberty.

11. The 'independent' army.—Cromwell was urged to abolish monarchy altogether, and when he found that presbyterians in parliament offered to reinstate the king if Charles I. would adopt the covenant

(Uxbridge, Jan. 30, 1645) he soon determined to carry out that design. As the presbyterian generals had failed to follow up advantages gained in battles, he impeached them as traitors to the cause. Under cover of a *self-denying ordinance*, which passed the houses in April 1645, and forbade members of parliament to hold commands in the army, the presbyterian generals were compelled to give up their commissions. Cromwell was himself a member, but he obtained exemption from the ordinance and remodelled the army; his friend Sir T. Fairfax being nominated general. At the battle of *Naseby* (June 14) the royalists were utterly routed; after which the "new model" army had very little difficulty in capturing and occupying the fortresses that had been held in the king's name. After many months' wandering Charles I. surrendered to the Scottish army at Newark (May 5, 1646) in the hope of retrieving his fortunes by an alliance with the presbyterians. But on receipt of encouragement from the queen, who was then in France raising money and friends, he refused the terms which parliament offered.¹ The Scotch then surrendered him to the English parliament in return for an indemnity of £400,000 (Jan. 30, 1647), and he was lodged at Holmby-house, Northamptonshire. Thinking that the war was over the presbyterians in parliament tried to circumvent the independents by reinforcing the self-denying ordinance, so as to remove Cromwell from command. They also tried to reduce the army, deprive the soldiers of five-sixths of their arrears of pay, and compel all officers to sign the league and covenant. Cromwell retorted by calling the army together at Newmarket (June 4), and removing the king from Holmby. The soldiers had previously demanded the expulsion from parliament of eleven leaders of the presbyterian party who had suggested the obnoxious ordinances. Then the army marched to London, lodged the king at Hampton-court, and made liberal proposals to him on condition, among other things, that there should be complete toleration for all religions except that of the Romanists. These might be governed by bishops who chose, but the national Church was not to be restored. Charles I. refused those terms and escaped to the Isle-of-Wight, in hope that the governor would prove loyal; but the latter sided with Cromwell, and kept the king as a prisoner in Carisbrook castle. But the Isle-of-Wight was neutral ground for a time, from which the

¹ Parliament had demanded (1) That presbyterianism should be the established religion; (2) That militia officers should be appointed by parliament; (3) That war should be waged against the Irish who had massacred protestant settlers in 1641.

king was able to correspond with friends in Scotland and France. All along Charles endeavoured to keep the presbyterians and independents at feud, in the hope that one or the other would be glad for the sake of peace to restore him to his old position. Many moderate presbyterians then joined the royalists against the independents ; and many Scotchmen who were averse to a republic under Cromwell crossed the border to fight in the king's behalf. But the ironsides were irresistible, and



FAIRFAX TAKING POSSESSION OF COLCHESTER.

by Aug. 1648, they had discomfited the allies ; and driven Charles I. to the verge of despair. The gallant defence of Colchester by royalists was a notable episode of that renewed civil war ; and the cruel treatment of its defenders by the successful friends of Cromwell fairly illustrates the troubles which then befel all who were resolved to defend the Church and realm. While Fairfax was subduing the south of England, Cromwell desolated Wales and then utterly discomfited the Scots.

12. Regicide.—Flushed with their victories the independent army marched to London and demanded "justice on the king," whom they considered the cause of the revived hostilities and consequent loss of life. But the presbyterian members were by no means disposed to kill their lawful sovereign. In fact they had at last come to an agreement with Charles I., who had despairingly acquiesced in their demands; which included the suspension of episcopacy for three years, and a provisional retention of presbyterianism in the meantime. Cromwell then decided on a *coup d'état*. He sent Colonel Pride to the house of commons with a band of ironsides, to prevent the entrance of the presbyterian members who formed a majority in the house. Only about fifty-three sworn friends of the army were allowed admittance, and they immediately passed a bill to try the king before a special court of their own appointment. There were only twelve members of the house of lords left, but they at once rejected the measure; whereupon the fifty-three independents resolved that anything which they might decide upon should have the binding force of law without the consent of the king or house of lords. The army might as well have examined and killed the king by martial law as to have made its name infamous by that enforced parody of constitutional procedure. No time was lost. Colonel Pride had turned the presbyterian members out on December 6, 1648; and before the end of the month a "high court of justice" was nominated. One hundred and thirty-five persons were named as members of the court; but only sixty-seven appeared in answer to their names. Sir Thomas Fairfax was one of the absentees; but his wife was present when the roll was called (January 20, 1649) and indignantly cried out, "He is not here, and will never be; you do wrong to name him." The chairman of the court was a lawyer named Bradshaw. Charles was arraigned on charges of treason, tyranny, and murder. He refused to plead to the indictment on the ground that the court was not competent to try him. The mock trial occupied seven days. Thirty-two witnesses were examined and he was condemned to be beheaded. The warrant for his execution (signed by fifty-nine members of the court, led by Bradshaw, Grey, and Oliver Cromwell) is still preserved in the house of Lords. Churchmen ought not to forget that almost up to the last he might have saved his life, and regained some measure of his former dignity and influence, if he would have consented to the abolition of the ancient Church of England. But he would not consent to place the national Church on a level with sectarianism. He said:—

"I am firm to primitive episcopacy, not to have it extirpated if I can hinder it." With reference to the appeals of the puritans, he wrote, "I have done what I could to bring my conscience to a compliance with their proposals, and cannot ; and I will not lose my conscience to save my life."¹ He heard the sentence calmly, and spent his remaining hours devotionally in the company of *William Juxon*, bishop of London (page 403). Charles I. was put to death, Jan. 30, 1649. On stepping forth from the window of Whitehall palace on to the scaffold prepared for the last scene in his earthly life, he addressed a few words to the multitude that had assembled ; explaining that the guilt of the civil war did not rest with him, since parliament had been the first to take up arms ; but he confessed that he deserved to die for having consented to the death of Strafford. As he knelt down and laid his head upon the block he exclaimed, "I go from a corruptible to an incorruptible crown." They buried him in St. George's chapel, Windsor, but the burial service of the Church of England was not allowed to be read over his remains. Two of his younger children, Henry and Elizabeth, were in London at the time of



CHARLES THE FIRST.

his death, but they were afterwards put under guard at Carisbrook, where the little girl died. The elder sons Charles and James and the youngest daughter were with Queen Henrietta in France. The judicial execution of a king had never been heard of before, and the majority of Englishmen felt that he had been illegally condemned and that the constitution was at the mercy of the army. Until recently a service of humiliation was appended to the book of Common Prayer, for use on the anniversary of his death, which spoke of him as "King Charles the Martyr." It was removed in 1859.

¹ From *Eikōn Basilikē*, a contemporary biography of Charles I. ; said by some to have been written by the king himself, and by others to have been the work of his chaplain Bishop Gauden. Parts of it are certainly in the handwriting of Charles.

CHAPTER XXIII. (A.D. 1649–1660)

UNDER THE COMMONWEALTH

“O, terrible excess
Of headstrong will! Can this be piety?
No—some fierce maniac hath usurped her name;
And scourges England struggling to be free.”

1. Proceedings of the “rump.”—Few will wonder at the determination of modern Englishmen to support the Church of England in her legal privileges, on the ground that the welfare of the constitution is bound up in her prosperity, when they remember the sequence of memorable events for which the long parliament was responsible; especially as it is the only occasion in history when there was a majority of members in the house of commons pledged to uproot the national Church. First the ancient government of the Church was overthrown, the bishops being imprisoned, exiled, or murdered. Next the ancient service books were proscribed and supplanted by the Westminster formularies; while all petitions on behalf of the Church were voted seditious, and the signatories criminally proceeded against. Then the most ancient *civil* government—the honoured kingdom of England, with its council of spiritual and temporal peers—was suppressed; and a military despotism set up in its place, which soon overwhelmed the more modern legislative body also. Two days after the funeral of the murdered king, the “*Rump*” (as the remnant of the long parliament became contemptuously called) proceeded to confirm Colonel Pride’s expulsion of the presbyterian members. On February 6 it declared the house of lords abolished, and the following day prohibited the government of England by a king or single person. On May 19 it surpassed all previous efforts by declaring the country to be a *commonwealth*. Strictly speaking, everything that they did was flagrantly illegal, save the legality of having might on their side. It also issued a declaration on religion, and compelled all ministers to take a new oath, called *the engagement*, instead of the covenanters’ oath, by which they bound themselves “to be true and faithful to the commonwealth without a king or house of peers.” But there was still life in the monarchy. There is a proverb belonging to all kingdoms:—“*Le roi est mort, vive le roi*”—and the eldest surviving son of the late king, who had escaped with his mother to the continent, at once assumed the style of Charles II.; and prepared to claim his rights.

2. Religious anarchy.—All ecclesiastical discipline was overthrown during the civil war. Most of the clergy had been expelled by the committees that dealt with “scandalous and malignant ministers”; and many of the remainder were driven out for declining to accept the covenant. A still further reduction ensued from refusals to take the “engagement” oath. “Swarms of all sorts of illiterate mechanic preachers, yea, of women and boy preachers” occupied their places; thus facilitating the dissemination of lawless opinions. Frequently Cromwell’s soldiers would turn the preachers out of the pulpits at service time and occupy their places. Those who felt inclined to propagate their personal opinions found it easy to do so in the name of religion. Had not Oliver Crom-



OLIVER CROMWELL.

well vigorously suppressed fanatics

the country would have been ruined utterly. Some mutinous soldiers, called *Levellers*, who desired to obliterate all distinctions of rank or wealth and abolish ministers of every kind, had to be promptly executed. The more earnest royalists and faithful clergy fled to France; and when any were able to get passports to return and set their temporal affairs in order, they found “the pulpits full of novices and novelties.”

“Going this day (December 4, 1653) to our Church I was surprised to see a tradesman, a mechanic, step up. I was resolv’d yet to stand and see what he would make of it. His text was from 2 *Sam. ch. 23, v. 20*. ‘And Benaiah went down also and slew a lion in the midst of a pit in the time of snow;’ the purport was, that no danger was to be thought difficult when God called for shedding of blood, inferring that now ‘the saints’ were called to destroy temporal governments.”—*Eccllyn’s Diary*.

So rapidly did every wild and lawless opinion find adherents, that the new government was compelled to impose tests of orthodoxy, and take upon itself the censorship of public morals. For that state of things the party then in power had only themselves to blame. “With extreme licence the common people, almost from the very beginning of the parliament, took upon themselves the reforming, without order, authority, or decency; rudely disturbing Church service while Common Prayer was reading, tearing the books, surplices, and such things” (*May*).

The viciously inclined considered that the parliamentary order to destroy all "monuments of idolatry" gave them liberty and licence for every kind of sacrilege; so that it became a common pastime to break the painted windows and deface any statuary which adorned and beautified our churches. The old market crosses which had been a



DESTRUCTION OF CHEAPSIDE CROSS.

notable feature of English towns, reminding the passers by of the great act of Redemption, were all ruthlessly destroyed. In speaking of the diseases of his age, Bishop Andrewes had declared that there had been "a good riddance of images; yet for *imaginations*, they be daily stamped in great number, and, instead of the old images, set up, deified, and worshipped." In 1647 all stage plays were prohibited as immoral, the theatres closed, and the actors publicly whipped. That can be

understood and defended; for the words and topics of the dramas then presented were often suggestive of immorality; but surely the long parliament carried censorship too far when country folk were punished for wrestling on the village greens, or dancing round the maypoles.

3. The quakers.—A grim commentary on the puritan demands for religious liberty is furnished by the stern repressive measures enforced against unitarians, anabaptists, and quakers; who shared

with Romanists and English churchmen the enmity of independents. *Quakers* came into notice about 1650. Their early practices differed strongly from the inoffensive character of the modern "society of friends." A contemporary writer describes them as "a new sect who shew no respect to any man, magistrate, or other, and seem a melancholy proud sort of people and exceedingly ignorant." Their leaders were *George Fox* and *James Naylor*. The latter was a half-mad fanatic, whose misdirected zeal brought discredit on the whole community. Some of his immediate followers came to be regarded as public pests. One is said to have stood at the door of the parliament house with a drawn sword, and declared that the Holy Ghost had moved him to slay all members who should attempt to enter. Others used to rush about the streets in a state of nudity and wildly condemn the evils of the time. It was quite a customary practice for them to carry on their trades all through Sundays, and disturb other congregations by denouncing the preachers as "false prophets" and "lying witnesses." Naylor was at last arrested, whipped, branded, and bored through the tongue, while the prisons were filled with the zealots who half worshipped him.¹ It is due to the memory of George Fox to say that he repudiated the fanatical proceedings of his friends, but even he, good man that he was, several times suffered imprisonment for contempt of court and refusal to pay tithes to independents. Like a later quaker (Wm. Penn, who founded the state of Pennsylvania) George Fox would never remove his hat in the presence of magistrates or majesty. The tenets of the quakers which have survived in those of the society of friends are hatred of war, objection to oaths, the non-necessity of sacraments or ministerial orders, and the individual guidance of the Holy Spirit. They have always been noted for personal piety.

4. Worcester fight.—Irishmen and Scotchmen acknowledged Charles II. for their hereditary monarch as soon as it was known that his father had been beheaded. The Irish were the first to ask the exiled prince to come to their aid against Cromwell's military despotism; but before he could reach them the "man of the sword" had captured the royalist stronghold of Drogheda and massacred all the able-bodied men in cold blood. Charles II. then made his way to Scotland (1650) and agreed to the covenant for that kingdom. The Scots rallied round his standard in vain, for Cromwell again tasted the sweets of victory at

¹ 3173 Quakers were imprisoned by the puritans. 32 of them died in prison.

Dunbar (Sep. 3, 1650). On the following New Year's day Charles II. was crowned at Scone, and set up his camp at Stirling. Later on Cromwell feigned an expedition to the highlands, which Charles II. availed himself of by invading England with 11,000 Scotch soldiers, arriving at Worcester August 23. Cromwell followed him five days later, and a great battle was fought on two sides of that city, Sep. 3, 1651. Like

its predecessors this new civil war was distinctly concerned with religious questions ; for the Scots adopted as a war-cry "The covenant;" and Cromwell's ironsides shouted "The Lord of Hosts." When the day was decided in Cromwell's favour, and the streets of Worcester were deluged with the blood of royalists ; whom the victors, after the battle, slew without pity ; the grim leader declared that it was "Heaven's crowning mercy" on his cause. It certainly put an end to the hopes of Charles II. for a time. He escaped from the neighbour-



CHARLES II. HIDING IN AN OAK.

hood and baffled all attempts of the Cromwellians to find him, chiefly through the assistance of a lady who disguised him as her serving man. After some romantic adventures, which proved how many staunchly loyal folk there were all over the south and west of England, the king managed to reach Shoreham ; whence he crossed in a coal-ship to France, and remained abroad eight years. To prevent

any further risings in the Stuart cause Cromwell kept standing armies in Ireland and in Scotland. His son-in-law, *Ireton*, commanded the Irish garrison, and *General Monk* the Scotch division.

5. Destruction of churches.¹—The greatest cause of lasting grief, which has made the great rebellion infamous, was the wanton destruction of our cathedrals and churches by the soldiery. Wherever the rival armies went the sacred edifices were used as barracks, stables, hospitals, and fortresses. That was to be expected, but much worse



HEREFORD CATHEDRAL.

sacrilege has been recorded. Allowances might be made for the heated passions of victorious puritans after such a fight as Worcester, and if the destruction had been confined to such occasions no notice would have been taken of it in these pages. But destruction was everywhere, and deliberate; and accompanied by the most derisive profanation. Soon after the civil war had been commenced parliamentary troops occupied the city of *Hereford*. On the first Sunday of their

¹ The authorities for this section are the S.P.C.K. Diocesan Histories.

residence they went to the cathedral and showed their contempt and scorn of our Church's services by dancing on the tessellated pavement of the edifice as soon as the organ began to play. In 1645 the puritan army again besieged that city and did much material damage to the cathedral fabric. Dean Croft preached to the soldiers against the sin of sacrilege and very nearly lost his life for his pains. They destroyed the windows, tore up the brasses, and carried off the ornaments. As in other dioceses, the episcopal estates were sequestered and the revenues bestowed upon parliament men; puritan preachers taking the place of the clergy. The history of every diocese tells similar sad tales of deliberate demolition of every artistic detail in most churches, and of irreverent and coarse jests by the soldiery. It was a well-known intention of the long parliament that such bigoted acts should be winked at, and therefore, when the curators of a beautiful church heard that puritan soldiers were coming they sometimes themselves removed and hid the choicest carvings and statuary with a view to their restoration in quieter times. At Winchester Cromwell's soldiers broke open the west door of the cathedral while morning service was going on, and marched up the nave with colours flying and drums beating. Tombs were rifled, and bones of the dead were used as missiles to break such windows as were too high for the halberds to reach. The altar was removed to an alehouse yard, and burnt along with the service books. Soldiers arrayed themselves in the surplices of the choir, and marched in mock procession through the city with banners, crosses, and pictures; tooting upon the pipes which they had torn from the organ. Similar scenes were witnessed in the city of Norwich. At Chichester the soldiers "ran up and down the church with their swords drawn, defacing the monuments, hacking and hewing the seats and stalls, scratching and scraping the painted walls, Sir W. Waller and the rest of the commanders standing by as spectators of these impious barbarities; . . . the chalice was broken into bits for division of the spoil, and the Bible marked in divers places with a black coal." At St. Asaph, "the cathedral was used as a stable for the horses of one Miller, a postmaster, who occupied the bishop's palace as an inn, fed his calves in the bishop's throne, and removed the font into his yard for use as a watering trough." Exeter cathedral and Wells cathedral were each divided in two parts by a brick wall for the express purpose of being used for different denominations independents in one part and presbyterians in the other.

At Lichfield puritan soldiers hunted cats with hounds within the cathedral walls as a daily sport; and they showed their contempt for the sacrament of holy baptism by dressing up a calf in infant's clothes, and sprinkling it at the font. On February 18, 1653, it was ordered that the cathedral churches in England, where there are other churches sufficient for the people to meet in for the worship of God, should be "surveyed, pulled down, and the materials sold;" and in the following July a committee was appointed to "consider what cathedrals should stand or what part thereof." But parliamentary changes, together with petitions from residents, prevented that grim design being carried out. The despoilers were fain to content themselves with seizure of the church plate and stripping the lead from the roofs which was used to furnish in part the sinews for Cromwell's war with the Dutch. The same destruction and spoliation fell upon venerated parochial churches everywhere, although, as with the cathedrals, their injuries have been repaired in recent times. Lambeth palace was made over to a couple of the regicides, one of whom divided the chapel into two parts; using one portion for a dining hall and the other as a recreation room. The tomb of Archbishop Parker was broken open and removed, his bones being scattered about. Truly has it been said that those were times of public ruin and confusion. Not without reason did churchmen during the commonwealth feel themselves in the position of the captive Jews, and cry:—"Oh God! the heathen are come into Thine inheritance: Thy holy temple have they defiled, and made Jerusalem an heap of stones."

6. Cromwell's parliaments.—The rump soon became objectionable to Cromwell. It wanted more power in the direction of affairs than he was disposed to tolerate. Their relations came to a climax over the *perpetuation bill*, by which parliament was to be increased to 400 members; but the members of the rump were to retain their seats without re-election, and become a committee with power to reject any new members that should be elected whom they thought dangerous to the commonwealth! The act of 1641, by which parliament was not to be dissolved without its own consent, was very precious to the rump; but Cromwell found a way of effecting his purpose notwithstanding. On April 20, 1653, he went down to the house, and was followed by 300 trusty soldiers. Until their arrival he sat impatiently among the members who were discussing

the perpetuation bill. Presently he began to abuse the members, and when they objected to his discourteous language he shouted "I'll put an end to your prating. You are no parliament. Get you gone! Give way to honester men. It is not fit you should sit here any longer." At a given signal the musketeers trooped in and forced the astonished members to leave. "What shall we do with this bauble?" cried Cromwell as he lifted the mace. "Take it away." As the members reluctantly dispersed Cromwell heaped upon them words of obloquy. "You have forced me to do this—I have sought the Lord day and night that He would slay me rather than put upon me the doing of this work." Cromwell's religious harangues invariably accompanied his destructive wrath. When all the members had departed the door was locked and the key carried away by one of the general's colonels, and no more was heard of the rump for a season. Thenceforth Cromwell was supreme. No bishops, no king, and then no parliament. A memorable sequence! And efforts were made to prevent them from being restored. The nation was not allowed to express an opinion upon such changes. Everything was done by the power of the army under the direction of Oliver Cromwell. He next called together a parliament of his own nominees, not in any sense a representative body, but men chosen for their devotion to the cause Cromwell represented; men who belonged to "the Lord's people." But his "godly" nominees turned out a most refractory set, without practical knowledge of men and laws, with few or no ideas beyond the repression of "popery and prelacy." They are known as the "*Barebones parliament*," from the peculiar name (Praise-God-Barebones) of one of its members, a leather-seller in the city of London. It met July 4, 1653, and very soon set to work upon religious questions. A proposal to confiscate all ecclesiastical revenues, in order to pay the stipends of itinerant preachers of their own appointment, was only lost by two votes. It also proposed to abolish the old system of ecclesiastical patronage, the payment of tithes, and religious services at weddings; but could not agree as to details. At the end of five months that contemptible assembly, which was the jest of the people, resigned its power to the man who had bestowed it, and passed into an unregretted oblivion. Cromwell then held a council of officers, and although the decree of Feb. 7, 1649 (p. 411), had never been repealed, it was resolved to govern the commonwealth by a single person, who should bear the title of "Lord Protector."

A written constitution called the *Instrument of Government* was drawn up; by which Cromwell bound himself (among other things) to extend religious liberty to all who differed from the doctrine, worship and discipline of independency, "*provided that this liberty be not extended to popery or prelacy, nor to such as under the profession of Christ hold forth and practise licentiousness.*" Cromwell was bound by that instrument to have an elected parliament, which should meet once a year. The first protectorate parliament met Sep. 3, 1654; but royalists were declared ineligible for election. In the meantime Cromwell had issued a number of ordinances, such as the appointment of commissions to examine the clergy (page 422). About 100 republican members of the new parliament, led by Sir H. Vane, objected to the 'instrument,' and especially to government by a single person; and Cromwell promptly expelled them from the house, on the ground that, having been elected under the conditions of the instrument, they were bound to accede to its provisions (Sep. 12). But as even the members who agreed to sign the instrument were continually trying to limit Cromwell's supremacy, he determined to dissolve that parliament also (January 22, 1655). From that time Cromwell governed the country in a more arbitrary and autocratic manner than any previous king had done. And because the Church of England was to his mind another name for Charles Stuart, he took care that it should be rent and crippled in every way; although here and there a few private houses of influential laymen were allowed to be used as secret meeting places for churchmen, under a show of toleration. Penruddock's rising in the west of England furnished a pretext for fresh oppression; and that necessity of levying fresh taxes to pay for his expensive foreign wars demanded that another parliament should be called. Vane and his friends were again elected, but not allowed to take their seats. The remaining members met Sep. 17, 1656, and Cromwell felt it needful to begin the session with an excuse for intolerance towards the cavalier interest (*i. e.*, the Church), on the ground that it was "the badge and character of countenancing profaneness, disorder, and wickedness in all places; and whatsoever is most akin to these and what is popery; and with the profane nobility of this nation!" It was from the trusty remnant of that second parliament of his protectorate that Oliver Cromwell received a petition that he should take the title of "king" (March 29, 1657). But the army strongly objected, and after several ineffectual conferences with the officers the coveted honour was declined. But

Cromwell accepted what remained of the *Petition and Advice*, which gave him authority to nominate his successor and create a new peerage, so that he was king in all but the name; and those who refused to take the oath to him were deprived of their offices. In the parliamentary recess Cromwell made peers of his most devoted followers, and invited some of the old "profane nobility" to join them. The latter contemptuously declined. When parliament resumed its sessions—protector, lords, and commons—January 20, 1658,



KIDDERMINSTER CHURCH (*see page 429*).

the previously excluded members were allowed to take their seats in the house of commons. As the warmest supporters of Cromwell had been removed to his "upper house," the republican members had a majority and proceeded to repudiate the second chamber; Cromwell therefore dissolved parliament before the session was a fortnight old, and he did not live to call another. During his administration the "petition of right" was constantly violated. Taxes were levied and men imprisoned against the will of parliament, and without cause shown; chiefly because Englishmen objected to a despotic ruler.

7. Sufferings of the clergy.—It has been already stated that thousands of lawful incumbents had been ejected from their benefices because they were loyal to the Church, whose places were filled by unordained persons; but that did not satisfy Cromwell. Under the powers of the ‘instrument’ he issued an ordinance (March 20, 1654) appointing a “*Committee of Triers*” whose business was to inquire into the character and principles of all persons who were nominated to their benefices by the ancient system of patronage, and to appoint others in the room of such as should be rejected; because “for some time past no certain course had been established for the supplying vacant places with able and fit persons, whereby many weak, scandalous, popish, and ill-affected persons had intruded themselves.” The test of ability and fitness was explained by a subsequent ordinance (September 2) to mean “experience of their conformity and submission to the present government.” But the “triers” could only deal with *future* appointments, and there were still many loyal clergy who had not been removed by the various processes detailed in the last chapter. They were to be got rid of by sub-committees for ejecting “scandalous” ministers, appointed by virtue of another ordinance (August 30), whose duties were to inquire minutely into the character and politics of clergy already possessed of benefices. Those sub-committees created vacancies in every county which the triers proceeded to fill. The unfortunate ejected incumbents then endeavoured to obtain a bare subsistence for themselves and their families by educating other peoples’ children, and acting as chaplains in well-to-do royalist families. But Cromwell had no mind to let them earn an honest living. On Nov. 27, 1655, he issued this edict:—

“His highness, by the advice of his council doth publish, declare, and order:—That no person or persons do, from and after the first day of January (1656) keep in their houses or families as chaplains, or schoolmasters for the education of their children, any sequestered or ejected minister, fellow of a college, or schoolmaster; nor permit any of their children to be taught by such; in pain of being proceeded against in such sort as the said orders do direct in such cases. And that no person who hath been sequestered or ejected out of any benefice, college, or school, for delinquency or scandal, shall, from and after the said first day of January, keep any school either public or private; nor shall any person, who after that time shall be ejected for the causes aforesaid, preach in any public place, or at any private meeting of other persons besides his own family; nor administer baptism or the Lord’s supper, or marry any persons, or use the book of common prayer, or the forms therein contained; upon pain that every person so offending shall be proceeded against as by the said orders is provided.”

That was the way the lord protector acted, whom some modern writers are anxious to belaud as a model of Christian tolerance. The penalty for offending against his ordinances was imprisonment and banishment. The jails were immediately filled to overflowing, and for want of room the "malignant" clergy were imprisoned in dismantled fortresses and in the hulks of worn-out ships. Dr. Edmund Pocock, a world-renowned Oriental scholar, was charged before the Berkshire sub-committee for having used parts of the Prayer-book in public worship. He was condemned for *insufficiency*. The rejection of the most learned man of his day on such a ground was too ridiculous even for the non-conformists; and on the intercession of Dr. Owen, a notable puritan minister, Cromwell overruled the decision. Dr. *Jeremy Taylor*, "the Shakespeare of divines," was rector of Uppingham until the civil war, when he attended the king in camp as chaplain. He was taken captive and imprisoned in Chepstow castle. There he wrote a famous book pleading for religious toleration, called *Liberty of Prophesying*. On being released he became chaplain to the earl of Carbery and wrote his "*Holy Living*," "*Holy Dying*," and the "*Golden Grove*" which have been of untold value to numberless Christians in spiritual need. He was imprisoned again under the powers of the edict of 1655, because he had preached to a small congregation of faithful churchmen who met for secret worship in London (see next page). Records were kept of the sufferings of clergy during the wars and the commonwealth that are simply appalling in their horror. Modern friends of Cromwell deny his responsibility for those cruelties; but his army ruled the land, and his officers seldom rebuked the bigotry of their men. Here and there brave clergy conducted services on Prayer-book lines, the petitions being committed to memory so as to keep within the letter of the ordinances; and sometimes episcopally ordained men obtained posts as lecturers; but most of the clergy either fled from the country, or hid themselves, or were in prison. A contemporary layman wrote in his diary against March 1658: "There was now a collection for persecuted and sequestered ministers of the Church of England, whereof divers are in prison. A sad day! The Church now in dens and caves of the earth." Charitable institutions still exist for the relief of distressed clergy and their families which were originally founded to mitigate the sufferings caused by puritan intolerance. One is the *Sons of the clergy Corporation*, founded in 1655. Bishop Warner's college at Bromley, Kent, for widows of clergy, is another.

8. Sufferings of the laity.—The edict of November 1655 affected more than the clergy. The faithful laity also, known for their loyalty to Church and king, were made to feel the oppression. And that not merely by the loss of their spiritual advisers, but by a very considerable seizure of their property. One-tenth was demanded of all the royalists' revenues throughout England. The land had been put under a number of major-generals, who enforced the payment; and all meetings, social as well as public ones, at which the protector's proceedings might be discussed, were disallowed. The reason given was that Penruddock's friends had conspired to restore the Church and king. It was therefore "made a crime for a child to read by the bedside of a sick parent one of those beautiful collects which had soothed the griefs of forty generations of Christians" (*Macaulay*). "An ever-abiding sense of wrong stirred up the indignation of men who had looked back with regret to the Church observances which had been familiar to them in youth. Extempore prayer offered abundant facilities for the display of folly and profanity as well as of piety, and there were thousands who contrasted the tone and language of the new ministers with the measured devotion of the book of Common Prayer, altogether to the advantage of the latter. Church and king, the old religious forms and the old political institutions, came to be inextricably fused together in their minds; mingled with a vague and inarticulate sense of wrong being done to England by the openly avowed attempt to drive her by force when argument made no impression" (*Gardiner*). *John Evelyn*, a gentleman of position and refinement, who kept a diary of that time, wrote a sad note for Dec. 25, 1653 (which was also a Sunday), "No churches or public assembly. I was fain to pass the devotions of that blessed day with my family at home." In September 1655, he wrote:—"On Sunday afternoon I frequently stayed at home to catechise and instruct my family; those exercises universally ceasing in the parish churches, so as people had no principles, and grew very ignorant of even the common points of Christianity; all devotion being now placed in hearing sermons and discourses of speculative and notional things." After the edict, against December 25, 1655, he wrote:—"There was no more notice taken of Christmas-day in church. I went to London when Dr. Wild preached the funeral sermon of preaching, this being the last day, after which Cromwell's proclamation was to take place, that none of the Church of England should dare either to preach or administer sacraments, teach schools, etc., on paine of

imprisonment or exile. So this was the mournfullest day that in my life I had seen. The Lord Jesus pity our distressed Church, and bring back the captivity of Zion." On Christmas-day, 1657, when Evelyn and others ventured to attend a celebration, the chapel was surrounded by soldiers, who levelled their muskets at the communicants, "*as if they would have shot us at the altar,*" and afterwards took the whole congregation prisoners. "All that the State *could* do to crush the life out of the Church was done, but that all was really nothing. Never was her life more vigorous than when she was spoken and thought of as dead and buried, never was her liturgy more venerated than when it was proscribed, never were her faithful ministers more firmly attached to her principles than when the profession of those principles entailed the ruin of every worldly prospect" (*Overton*). But the country hoped for better times, and with good reason; for friends were to be found even in the domestic circle of the lord protector.

9. Royalist reaction.—Anything that has been written in the foregoing pages is not intended to throw doubt upon Oliver Cromwell's personal piety or genius. No man has been more execrated, and in late years efforts have been made to set him forth as a saint. Neither plan is necessary or accurate. His military prowess and statesmanship (which regained for England the prominence among European nations forfeited by James I., and established social tranquillity after the civil wars) is acknowledged by all; but these pages have to deal with home ecclesiastical affairs, in which he does not shine with undimmed lustre. He died on September 3, 1658. His son Richard succeeded him in the protectorate; but the army, ruled by



GENERAL MONK (*see next page*).

Oliver with such success, despised the new comer, and recalled the "rump" of the long parliament which his father had arbitrarily expelled. That body at once restored the covenanters' oath instead of the "engagement," but no relief came to church-folk by the change

The rump soon quarrelled with the army, and was again expelled ; this time by General Lambert, who had been accepted by the army in London as its leader. But the nation was weary of being governed by fanatical sectaries who brought nothing but anarchy in their train. All longed for an orderly and settled government, and when Evelyn published a bold apology for the king it was received with approbation. But it was General Monk, who had for a long time governed Scotland as Cromwell's second, that succeeded in leading the nation to the desired goal without bloodshed. He was a taciturn man, and an accomplished dissembler ; and as he proceeded to London he could see that though all men were ready to accept his decision they hoped he would declare for "the king." Having felt the pulse of England, and received all the petitions that were presented on his line of march, he made up his mind to declare for a free parliament (February 11, 1660). But he would not do anything illegally. Not only the "rump," but all the surviving and accessible members of the long parliament (whom Colonel Pride had expelled twelve years before) were called together ; and induced to agree to their own dissolution according to the statute, having previously issued writs for a general election. (March 16, 1660.) Strictly speaking, a parliament can only be called together by the king's consent ; so the newly elected representatives of the nation formed what is called a "convention." It met April 25, 1660. Meanwhile (April 14) Charles II., who was staying at Breda, issued a declaration which promised a general amnesty to all save those whom parliament should exempt, and liberty of conscience to all whose religious convictions were not likely to disturb the peace of the realm. It also agreed that parliament should determine the conflicting claims of past and present holders of landed estates, and that the army should receive its arrears of pay. The presbyterians were instrumental in obtaining that declaration, and when it was announced (May 1) that Sir John Grenville had brought letters from Charles—one for the lords who had resumed their seats, one for the commons, one for General Monk, and another for the lord mayor and corporation of London—offering himself to their dutiful acceptance and acknowledgment as king ; the news was received with marvellous enthusiasm. The national will was felt and obeyed at a time when none dared utter it ; and Charles II. was invited unconditionally from exile to his paternal throne by a people who desired, above all else, a restoration of institutions under which England had been prosperous and happy.

CHAPTER XXIV. (A.D. 1660-1685)

RESTORATION OF CHURCH AND REALM

“He comes with rapture greeted and caressed
With frantic love—his kingdom to regain

Nor shall the eternal roll of praise reject
Those unconforming ; whom one rigorous day
Drives from their cures, a voluntary prey
To poverty, and grief, and disrespect.”

1. The return of the king.—On May 8 Charles II. was proclaimed king amid general rejoicings. On the 25th he landed at Dover, and thence proceeded to Canterbury. Thus the restoration was brought about without bloodshed, “and by that very army which rebelled against him. The eagerness of men, women and children to see his majesty and kiss his hands was so great, that he had scarce leisure to eat for some days.” May 27 was a Sunday, and there was a grand service in the cathedral ; than which no more fitting place could have been chosen for the public restoration of the Prayer-book. The next two days witnessed the king’s triumphal progress to London, Whitehall being reached about 9 p.m., May 29. That night was made an artificial day by innumerable bonfires, while the wealthy erected wine fountains everywhere. Englishmen had greatly missed their dances



CHARLES THE SECOND.

round the maypole, their theatres, Church ales, and other modes of recreation in which they had formerly delighted ; and they quickly revolted from the hypocrisy that had accompanied puritan restrictions by an intemperate enjoyment of all pleasures at once. The unlimited indulgence allowed to public rejoicings was greatly marred by disorderly mirth and profligacy. That was most deplorable, though not altogether unexpected ; for proclamations had been issued against excesses. No one could doubt the feeling of the nation which had so long been ruled by a minority. The king

declared that it must have been his own fault that he had stayed away so long, for he met no one who did not protest that his return had always been wished for. The puritans were only too glad to be allowed to go into retirement. *John Milton, e.g.*, wrote :—

“ This day a solemn feast the people hold
To Dagon, their sea-idol, and forbid
Laborious works. Unwillingly this rest
Their superstition leaves me ; hence, with leave,
Retiring from the popular noise, I seek
This unfrequented place to find some ease.”

In all difficulties and dangers the Church and the crown had shared a common lot ; they had suffered together in exile, imprisonment and death ; it was only natural that they should be partners in the glad rejoicings of the restoration. The sequestered clergy who were still alive, about a thousand in number, at once returned to their parishes ; and everywhere the ancient liturgy was heard again. The nine surviving bishops resumed control of their dioceses, and took their old places in the house of peers. One of the bishops, Wren of Ely, had been kept as a prisoner in the Tower without trial nearly twenty years. Steps were then taken to fill the vacant sees with divines who had been conspicuous for their devotion to their Church and king during adversity ; Bishop Juxon, who had ministered to Charles I. in his last moments, taking the place of Laud as primate. After the “convention parliament” had voted the necessary funds for paying arrears to the soldiers, the army was disbanded ; two or three regiments only being retained as a guard for the king. An “act of indemnity and oblivion” was passed by which all, except the regicides, were pardoned for complicity in the late rebellion. At the close of the year the convention parliament was dissolved. By the following May a new parliament, and a new convocation, had been elected ; which proved strongly royalist and true to Church principles. It was called the *cavalier parliament* ; because most of the members belonged to families who had all along sided with the king. They were consequently opposed most strongly to puritanism in any form, and it would not have been surprising had they used their power to revenge themselves upon their late enemies. That they proceeded to pass measures which bore hardly upon those who had preceded them in the government is true, but it is remarkable how very little grudge they seemed to bear. As we noticed when dealing with the Elizabethan reaction, nothing was done vindictively or in a hurry. Thousands of

puritan ministers were allowed to remain unmolested in the benefices to which they had been illegally presented, until an ecclesiastical settlement was determined on, and no repressive legislation was enacted unless past events had proved that the safety of the nation demanded it. The Church party grew stronger every day and less inclined for compromise; but it was willing that puritan ministers should be admitted within the Church if they would accept episcopal ordination and use the ancient service book loyally. Three of the most eminent, Richard Baxter, Edmund Calamy, and Edward Reynolds, were offered bishoprics; and the last named accepted the honour. Nine others became chaplains to the king. Mr. Baxter had been the intruded incumbent of Kidderminster since the wars began, and wished to continue there; but as the rightful incumbent was alive and claimed the benefice, the wish could not be gratified.

2. The Savoy conference.—In his declaration from Breda Charles II. declared himself ready to consent to any act of parliament which should grant toleration to nonconformists, and because such toleration was not allowed the king has been accused of duplicity; whereas neither the convention parliament nor the cavalier parliament were disposed to offer such a bill to him for his acceptance. The nation and the nation's representatives had declared against toleration of the sectaries; and in favour of uniformity according to the old Prayer-book which had been so long proscribed by puritans. The king recognised that the presbyterians had helped to bring about his restoration, and was desirous of contenting them; but he also felt that something was owing to Romanists who had stood by monarchy when presbyterians fought against it, and he wished that whatever religious liberty might be agreed upon the Romanists should have a fair share. But puritans were all averse to sharing toleration with Romanists; and would not accept any declaration of religious liberty in which they were mentioned in company. As parliament was not in a mood for toleration, and desired uniformity before all else, the puritans endeavoured to obtain such concessions as would satisfy all their former objections to the Church. The king had told them to draw up a list of difficulties which stood in the way of peace and unity; whereupon they drew up a long catalogue of objections to the doctrine, discipline, formularies, ceremonies and orders of the Church, which entirely defeated their object; because if their demands had been conceded the primitive and apostolic character of the Church

of England, to maintain which its members had endured suffering, imprisonment, exile and death, would have been entirely overthrown. As the Church was again in the ascendant, with the nation at its back, it may be doubted whether the puritans desired union on any terms; for they must have known that the bishops and clergy would never have agreed to such concessions. However, a conference was arranged by the king to be held at the palace of the Savoy, with twenty-one disputants on either side, to debate the differences. It met April 15, 1661. *Bishop Sheldon* was the leader of the Church party, and



PART OF THE SAVOY PALACE.

Richard Baxter led the presbyterian section. The accepted ground of debate was the noble liturgy that contained forms of devotion by which thirty generations of English people had offered public service to their Creator; forms which had been translated into the English tongue, and in that guise most lovingly regarded for more than a century. No wonder that, speaking in the name of his party, *Bishop Sheldon* should say that the Church of England was perfectly satisfied

with it, and did not wish for changes; although the bishops were ready to examine any written statements which *Mr. Baxter* and his friends might desire to put before the conference in the way of suggested additions or alterations. That proposal was accepted, and in a fortnight *Mr. Baxter* produced a reformed liturgy of his own compilation, which he desired might be used as an alternative book of public devotion by such ministers as did not appreciate the ancient forms preserved in our Prayer-book. His colleagues were far less hasty, but he urged them on to draw up a paper of objections, which

they presented on May 4. The bishops defended the liturgy from those attacks, and offered a few concessions touching phraseology and ceremony, to which Mr. Baxter replied. But the conference concluded without having arrived at any determination. "All were agreed," it was reported to the king, "that unity and peace were ends to be desired ; as to the means, they could not come to any harmony."

3. The revised liturgy.—While the disputants were wrangling at the Savoy, the cavalier parliament had met ; and on June 29 a bill was introduced to compel a uniform use of the already authorised Prayer-book (see page 372). That measure passed the house of commons July 9. The bill was sent up to the lords the following day, but no notice was taken of it there until the winter. The king, in the meantime, had commissioned several bishops and divines to review the Prayer-book, with a view of meeting some of the puritan objections. In consequence of their deliberations letters of business were issued to the convocations of Canterbury and York (October and November), empowering them to make such additions and alterations to the Prayer-book as should seem meet and convenient. That was done, and on December 20 all the members of both houses of convocation subscribed the amended book and presented it to the king ; with some services for use upon special occasions. All which the king, privy council, and lawyers examined, to see that nothing illegal was contained in them. The council kept the revised book from December 20 to February 25, 1662, when it was sent to the house of lords with a letter of approval from the king. The house of lords did not consider it until March 13. After four days' discussion they agreed that the proposed act of uniformity should refer to the newly revised book. On April 10 the bill was returned to the commons, who asked to see the copy in which the alterations of convocation had been written, so that they might more easily judge of the changes made. The commons agreed to accept the amended book ; and the *Act of Uniformity* by which all incumbents were to use it, on and after Aug. 24, received the royal assent May 19, 1662. Numerous changes were made, but they were mostly of a minor character, such as the substitution of modern for obsolete words and the substitution of the 1611 translation of most extracts from Scripture. A special service for the baptism of adults was added ; because during the commonwealth, and owing to "the growth of anabaptism," large numbers had grown up from infancy without admission to the Saviour's fold.

It was thought that such a service might also be "useful for the baptising of natives in our plantations, and others converted to the faith." The new act intimated to the intruded incumbents that they must renounce the covenant, be ordained by and pay canonical obedience to bishops, subscribe the articles, use the Prayer-book, and swear that it was unlawful to take up arms against the king if they wished to continue in their benefices. Within a week of the passing of the act Richard Baxter resigned his London lectureship, "to let all ministers in England know whether I intend to conform or not," but his example did not have the effect he expected. Those who conformed were not removed, and they were the greater number. It was expected that most of the intruded incumbents would decline to agree to the change; and altogether about 1,800 resigned after the three months' notice had expired; but the fact that nearly 6,000 were able to accept the conditions, and remained in possession, may be taken as proof that the points of agreement between men, even at that time, were far more than the points of difference. Although everybody knew that there would be a proportion of ministers who, on account of their training or political partisanship, would reject any concessions that might be made, it is none the less to be regretted that so many felt themselves unable to comply. It is doubly to be regretted, because after their refusal they became the founders of modern dissenting bodies. On the other hand the loyal use of the revised Prayer-book for over 200 years shows that the hope of the restoration reviewers has been realized:—"that what is here presented, and hath been by the convocations of both provinces with great diligence examined and approved, will be also well accepted and approved by all sober, peaceable, and truly conscientious sons of the Church of England." Several proposals have since been made to alter and adapt the liturgy as then revised, but they have come to nothing at present, and with the sole exception of the revised list of lessons adopted by convocation in 1871, and legalised in 1872 by parliament, there has been no alteration in the Prayer-book since 1662. The special services for Jan. 30, May 29 and Nov. 5 were ordered to be printed and bound up with the Prayer-book. That revised liturgy is the common possession of all members of the Anglican communion; and as further revision might seriously affect the friendly relations that now exist between its different branches, even desirable minor alterations are at the present time discountenanced.

4. Repressive legislation.—It has sometimes been stated that the 1,800 nonconforming ministers were harshly treated, and that vindictive measures were rushed through parliament. Those statements are not true. The dates in the foregoing section will show that the act of uniformity was nearly a year in passing, and that it did not come into force until two years after the restoration. Every sensible person must have known that some such measures would have been taken; and most men of that time were aware that the act of uniformity did no more than restore things to the position in which they were on the accession of Charles I. The act was a much milder one than that of the long parliament which mercilessly expelled all



ELSTOW CHURCH, BEDFORDSHIRE (*see next page*).

clergy from their rightful benefices who would not perjure themselves by taking the covenanters' oath. It was not until 1664 that the *Conventicle Act* was passed by which all unauthorised assemblies for religious purposes were visited with fines and imprisonments. But that was not passed until there had been a rising against the government by some fanatical sectaries, which justified the popular belief that nonconformist meetings were sometimes used to promote rebellion, and that therefore their suppression was needed for the safety of the realm. Here, too, it might be urged that the conventicle acts of 1664 and 1670 were much less severe than those which the commonwealth had produced against the royalists, because whereas puritans were permitted to have five strangers

join in their family worship, churchmen were not allowed to have any visitors at all. It seems hard when we hear that an act was passed, in the autumn of 1665, which forbade ejected ministers settling *within five miles* of a corporate town *where they had formerly preached*; but when we find that it was only enforced upon those who refused to take the oath of *non-resistance* (which declared that taking arms against the king or endeavouring to subvert the government in Church or realm was unlawful) its virulence becomes modified to our minds; and the statute was mildness itself compared with the powers assumed by the Cromwellians, when they sent high-minded clergymen to the hulks, and kept them there for no other offence than obedience to their ordination vows. But just as we could not approve the violence of Cromwell's, so neither are we desirous of excusing the intolerance of Charles's parliament, even though the latter had a greater show of reason. It is possible that the desire of Charles II. to exalt his prerogative at the expense of parliament, by issuing a *declaration of indulgence* to nonconformists on the ground that he had an inherent right to dispense with statute laws, may have increased the determination of the legislators to make their own power felt. The most deplorable parts of restoration statutes were those which imposed a sacramental test upon public officials. To make the Saviour's ordinance of love and mercy a means of over-reaching political opponents was hardly the way to promote religious peace. The presbyterians and independents did not suffer very much under the conventicle and five mile acts. The chief sufferers were quakers and anabaptists, whom the puritans themselves had treated with great hardships under the commonwealth. The best known example of an imprisoned nonconformist is that of John Bunyan, whose *Pilgrim's Progress* afterwards made his name universally beloved. At Elstow in Bedfordshire, there may still be seen the church wherein an intruded Calvinistic preacher frightened him with tales of torment, and made him give up all the sports and pastimes of rural youth. He then shouldered a musket in the parliament army, and ultimately broke away from presbyterian discipline by joining the anabaptists and preaching on his own account. Bunyan's new-found friends presently grew jealous of him, and accused him to the *Cromwellian* authorities as a criminal; so that he became a marked man, and therefore one of the first to be imprisoned when fanatical mobs endeavoured to upset the restoration. For twelve

years he was a political suspect in Bedford jail ; and because his incarceration has often been quoted as an instance of intolerant clericalism, it is necessary to state that the act of uniformity, the conventicle act, and the five mile act, were not thought of until long after his captivity began. Bunyan's case has therefore nothing whatever to do with them. Because private and unauthorised meeting-houses and preachments were thought to be seditious, and the late troubles were fresh in men's minds, special efforts were taken by the government to restrict the extemporaneous utterances of irresponsible enthusiasts, whether in devotional exercises or pulpit declamations, lest they should be used as means of provoking resistance to the civil authorities. That there was no intention of treating the loyal puritans with harshness is clear from the fact that an attempt was made in 1667, and 1668, to comprehend presbyterians and others within the Church of England. The scheme had a good intent no doubt, but it was impracticable. It failed because it could only be made feasible by whittling away all the distinctive Church teaching from the Prayer-book. Besides, those for whom the greatest sacrifices had been made would have been the first to stir up strife within the fold by their eccentric methods.

5. The great plague.—Two terrible calamities followed hard upon the restoration. The first was a terrible infectious disease which broke out in London A.D. 1665 called the *plague*. It had visited towns and villages in our country before, but never so fatally as then. Want of sanitary precautions had much to do with it ; for the drainage of London was bad, the streets were narrow and dirty, and the habits of the lower classes the reverse of cleanly. . Though that would account for the origin of the disease, and imperfect knowledge of medical science prevented the scourge from being cured or its progress arrested, yet the people of that day considered it to be a judgment from heaven upon the unparalleled wickedness that was everywhere apparent. Indeed many thought it impious to attempt to arrest the judgment of God by trying to cure the fearful infliction. Orders were given to shut up every house that was infected ; and a red cross was painted on its street door, over which were inscribed the words "Lord, have mercy upon us." The summer of that year was unusually hot, and by September the epidemic was raging at its height, 7,000 and 8,000 being carried off every week. It was impossible to bury the dead in the usual way, nor could the undertakers supply coffins quickly enough. Great pits

were dug at Aldgate, Moorfields, and Finsbury; eighteen to twenty feet deep, and of immense width and length; into which the corpses were thrown. Carts went regular rounds at night, preceded by a man who rang a bell and cried, "Bring out your dead." Daniel Defoe relates that he had the curiosity to visit a plague pit by night to see the mode of interment, but had some difficulty in obtaining admission to the ground because of the danger of infection. "I told the sexton," he



PLAGUE PITS AT FINSBURY.

the archbishop of Canterbury (Dr. Sheldon), remained as the representatives of benevolence and order; but the city was mostly deserted, and grass grew in the streets. It is estimated that over 100,000 people died of the scourge during that fatal summer and autumn. By winter time the plague had lessened in its fury, and men commenced to make good the dilapidations of the city. John Evelyn tells us that he went with other eminent men to discuss plans for completing the restoration

writes, "I had been pressed in my mind to go, and that perhaps it might be an interesting sight that might not be without its uses." "Nay," says the good man, "if you will venture on that score, in the name of God, go in; for depend upon it, 'twill be a sermon to you; it may be the best that you ever heard in your life. It is a speaking sight, and has a voice with it, and a loud one, to call us to repentance." Rich people fled in terror—leaving the poor to shift for themselves. A few noble-minded men, like John Evelyn, the duke of Albemarle, and

of old St. Paul's, which Archbishop Laud had munificently commenced. The spire which had been the highest in the world (48 feet higher than the great pyramid) had fallen down long before ; and they agreed to replace it by "a noble cupola." But in less than a week after their conference a second calamity ensued which altered all their schemes.

6. The fire of London.—On September 2, 1666, a disastrous fire broke out in Pudding lane, near Fish street hill, E.C., where the monument now stands. The houses of old London were built chiefly of wood, and as the streets were very narrow the conflagration rapidly spread. A steady east wind carried the flames westward until London was wrapped in a fire so great and continuous that its reflection could be seen for several days and forty miles around. John Evelyn wrote,



(September 3): "I took coach with my wife and son and went to the bank side in Southwark, where we beheld a dismal spectacle, the whole city in dreadful flames near the waterside ; all the houses from the bridge, all Thames street, and upwards towards Cheapside, were now consumed . . . so as it burned both in breadth and length, the churches, public halls, exchange, hospitals, monuments, and ornaments, leaping after a prodigious manner from house to house and street to street, at great

distances one from the other ; for the heat, with a long set of fair and warm weather, had even ignited the air, and prepared the materials to conceive the fire, which devoured after an incredible manner houses, furniture, and everything. . . . God grant mine eyes may never behold the like, who now saw above 10,000 houses all in one flame." Charles II. and his courtiers superintended the pulling down and blowing up of houses to make broad gaps which the fire could not overleap, and at last, after four days, the progress of the fearful fire was stayed. Eighty-nine churches had been destroyed, and also the metropolitan cathedral (see next page). Evelyn further tells us :—"I was infinitely concerned to find that goodly church of St. Paule's now a sad ruine. . . . It was astonishing to see what immense stones the heat had in a manner calcined, so that all the ornaments, columnes, freezes, capitals, and projectures of massive Portland stone flew off, even to the very roof, where a sheet of lead covering a great space (no less than six acres by measure) was totally melted ; the ruins of the vaulted roof falling broke into St. Faith's which, being filled with the magazines of books belonging to the stationers, and carried thither for safety, were all consumed, burning for a week following. . . . Thus lay in ashes that most venerable church, one of the most ancient pieces of early piety in the Christian world, besides near 100 more."

7. A great architect.—In spite of the suffering caused by the fire, much good resulted from it ; for it destroyed the old houses that had been infected by the plague, and the city was newly laid out and rebuilt in brick or stone on more healthy principles. It was a splendid opportunity for producing a great architect, and one was soon found, as appears by the following note in Evelyn's diary, May 5, 1667. "Came to dine with me Sir William Fermor, and *Sir Christopher Wren*, his majesty's architect and surveyor, now building the cathedral of St. Paul, and the column in memory of the city's conflagration, and was in hand with the building of 50 parish churches. A wonderful genius had this incomparable person." Only fifty-one of the 89 parish churches were rebuilt ; the thirty-eight parishes of the remainder being united to the parishes of those that were. The distress occasioned by the fire was only of a temporary character. Evelyn says he did not hear of a single bankrupt. There was a vast amount of sympathy excited for the sufferers, but their own energy was the most remarkable. They readily taxed themselves for many years to come with charges for relaying roads and rebuilding wharves and prisons, by agreeing to

a limited impost on every ton of coals brought to London—which was renewed by act of parliament from time to time—a fifth portion of which was afterwards appropriated towards the rebuilding of the fifty-one churches. Against that apparent boon to the Church must be placed the fact that the sites of all the eighty-nine churches and the churchyards, vicarages, etc., belonging thereto were vested in the lord mayor and aldermen of the city; who had the first claim upon such portions of Church lands as were thought requisite for widening and improving the city streets. Some of the churches then built are plain to ugliness.



OLD ST. PAUL'S CATHEDRAL, AFTER HOLLAR.

In many of them there was very scanty provision for chancels, the chief object being to make the buildings as little like pre-reformation churches as possible, and more like the temples of Greece and old Rome, or the mosques of Constantinople. Although there is much to commend them from an utilitarian standpoint, Wren's buildings are not always satisfactory. Even the most colossal seem to miss the romantic and poetic grace by which the marvels of mediæval architecture appeal to our religious imagination and sentiment. There had been so little church building for 150 years that very few people knew how to build at all. It was of no consequence which style they imitated, and the oldest style would look most like a new creation. Some of the city churches are remarkable for the carved woodwork of *Grinling Gibbons*, which found a host

of admirers. Wren's chief work was the new cathedral for London (pages 69 and 266), but that was not commenced until 1675. The porch of St. Mary's, Oxford, (page 338) is an example of Wren's style.

8. The Church in Scotland.—It was not to be expected that the restoration of Church and king, which had proved so popular in England, would be withheld from the sister kingdoms; although their conditions were so very different. Charles II. had twice signed the Scottish covenant in Cromwell's time; and the presbyterian Scots, naturally hoping that he would be true to it, commissioned one of their chief ministers, *James Sharp*, to plead the cause of presbyterianism at Breda and in London. But when Sharp found that few or none of the English desired presbyterianism, he made up his mind to swim with the stream, and recommend the restoration of episcopacy in Scotland. The episcopate refounded in the reign of James I. had died out during the great rebellion, so that it was necessary to create a fresh succession. Sharp was appointed to the archbishopric of St. Andrews, and consecrated with three others—Dr. Hamilton, Dr. Leighton, and Dr. Fairfoul—in Westminster abbey (1661). Those four prelates then proceeded to revive all the ancient Scotch dioceses, and consecrated bishops to fill them. Presbyterians beyond the Tweed were exceedingly wrath with Sharp for having betrayed their cause; and he returned their enmity by using his power as chief of the Scottish council to enforce the repressive legislation against dissenters. Some of the more fanatical covenanters in Scotland soon broke out into open rebellion; and on May 3, 1679, while driving with his daughter across a lonely moor, Archbishop Sharp was murdered by a band of Cameronians. Had Dr. Robert Leighton, a saintly and a learned man, been made archbishop of St. Andrews instead of Sharp, the subsequent history of the episcopal Church in Scotland might have been very different. At a time when conciliation and compromise were of the first necessity Sharp adopted harsh and arrogant methods; with the result that ten years after his death all attempts to re-establish episcopacy in Scotland were abandoned (see also pages 366-9, 375-6, 392-4, 448, and 470-3).

9. National dread of Romanism.—The exile of the Stuart princes during the commonwealth caused them to look favourably upon Romanism. Their mother, *Henrietta Maria*, sister of the French king, had obtained hospitality for them and their friends in the courts

of Europe ; and after the restoration common gratitude demanded that such obligations should be in some sort repaid ; but not at the expense of the national Church. Charles II. had married a Romanist princess, *Catharine of Braganza* ; and his sister Henrietta, who was married to the duke of Orleans, introduced some notorious Frenchwomen to the English court who wielded unbounded influence over him. In 1672 his brother *James*, duke of York and heir presumptive to the throne (for Catharine had no children), publicly avowed his membership with the Church of Rome ; and it was feared that King Charles might follow the example. Moreover, the Stuart princes continued to cherish the hope of restoring absolute monarchy ; and although Charles II. preferred to submit to his parliament, rather than set out on his travels again, he was continually trying to obtain three things :—a standing army, by which he could make himself independent of the legislature, as his father and Oliver Cromwell had done ; money, by which he could keep up a profligate court ; and the abolition of the anti-papal statutes, which prevented his Romanist friends from receiving lucrative positions in crown patronage. The cavalier parliament had proved so desirous of pleasing the king that, after eleven years, Charles began to think he could do as he pleased with it ; so on March 15, 1672, he took advantage of a parliamentary recess to publish a *Declaration of Indulgence* to all who did not conform to the Prayer-book. By it the Romanists were allowed to worship privately after their desire, and dissenters permitted to conduct services both publicly and privately. It was chiefly intended as a means by which Charles II. might appoint Romanists to naval and military offices from which they were excluded by law. The unchallenged acceptance of such a declaration would be equivalent to an acknowledgment that the king had power to dispense with parliament ; seeing that a large number of statutes were set aside by it without consent from the estates of the realm. Great dissatisfaction was expressed by most Englishmen, and when Charles II. joined Louis XIV. in the war against Holland (March 1672) it was known that many officers of our army and navy were Romanists. It is worthy of note that all leading dissenters preferred to abide by their disabilities rather than share any "indulgence" with the papal party. When parliament reassembled, the document was at once pronounced unlawful. Then it was that a stringent *Test act* was passed (25 Car. II., c. 2), which for many years after bore hardly on Romanists. By it all civil, military, and

naval officers were obliged to take the oath of allegiance and supremacy, *deny the doctrine of transubstantiation*, and receive holy Communion according to the rites of the national Church. Romanists could not fulfil such conditions; and a large number of officers, headed by the duke of York who was lord high admiral, gave up their posts. So many resigned that Englishmen became alarmed for the reformed faith, and the fear spread to the legislature. Members of parliament then began to take sides, and to be called contemptuous names by their political opponents. On one side were those who thought it wrong to resist the king's prerogative, and they were stigmatised as *Tories* (after the Irish Romanist banditti); and on the other side were those who thought that it would be allowable to take up arms in defence of religious and civil liberties—ever against the king—and they were nicknamed *Whigs*, after the insurgent presbyterians of Scotland. Lord Shaftesbury led the whigs, and he was mainly supported by anti-papal members. His great aim was to prevent Prince James from succeeding to the throne. James had married a daughter of Lord Clarendon, an English Church-woman. They had two children, Mary and Anne, who were brought up in the Church of England. In 1677 Mary was married to William, prince of Orange; and subsequently Anne became the wife of Prince

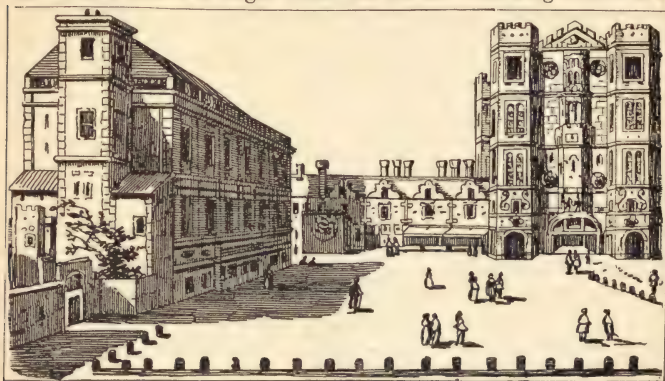


JAMES, DUKE OF MONMOUTH.

George of Denmark; both staunch upholders of "protestantism" in its most extreme forms. Lord Shaftesbury knew that he must set up a claimant to the throne instead of James, and he strongly supported an illegitimate son of Charles II., known as the duke of Monmouth; and encouraged rumours that the king had been privately married to Monmouth's mother, a woman of obscure family. There were many persons opposed to Prince James who liked Monmouth still less; and they thought that Princess Mary, wife of the prince of Orange, should succeed Charles II. on the throne.

10. Popish plots.—About the same time (Oct. 1678) the country was alarmed by a reported conspiracy among the Jesuits to kill King Charles and introduce papal authority. The report suited Shaftesbury's plans, and he took care to encourage the rumours. The chief informer was *Titus Oates*. By falsely representing himself as a Romanist he obtained admission into a Jesuit college; and having gained a little knowledge of their designs to establish Romanism in England, through the aid of the French and English courts, he proceeded to invent a number of wild stories incriminating very many innocent people; who were allowed by Charles and James to suffer the extreme penalty of the law, in order to draw off suspicion from themselves. The nation was put in a great ferment, and parliament passed a still more stringent test act (30 Car. II., c. 1) by which Romanists were excluded from sitting *in either house of parliament*. Hitherto the peers had not been liable to the provisions of the supremacy and test acts. By two votes only the lords exempted the duke of York from the new statute, but public opinion was so strong against him that he had to leave England for a time. It is probable that the pretended discoveries of Titus Oates were fabricated from beginning to end; but there certainly was a deliberate intention on the part of James and other members of the court to subvert our national religion; and there were as certainly secret treaties between Charles II. and Louis XIV., by which the latter kept the former well supplied with money, on the understanding that England should not go to war against France and that Charles should become a Romanist. The public had long been suspicious of some such secret arrangement, but did not know for certain until Louis had them disclosed to the house of commons. The secret had been shared by several Romanist peers, and also by a cabinet minister named Lord Danby; and they were impeached forthwith. To save his counsellors Charles dissolved the cavalier parliament (January 1679) and called another. Shaftesbury had long been waiting for a general election, and had carefully prepared the way for a grand anti-papal demonstration at the hustings, by fomenting the terror that Oates had aroused. An overwhelming majority of whig members were returned (March 1679) who would not be satisfied with anything short of the exclusion of Prince James from the throne. Charles dissolved that parliament also; and called another, with a similar result, October 1679. After seven prorogations in the hope that public opinion might veer round, Charles

allowed his fourth parliament to meet for the dispatch of business in October 1680. But the exclusion bill blocked the way. The commons passed it but the lords did not, for the king had sent a message that he would never give his consent if it were passed. The commons then flatly refused to vote supply, and parliament was again dissolved. Yet another parliament was called with the same result. It met at Oxford in March 1681. On that occasion the whig members attended with armed retainers; so determined were they that the exclusion bill, for which they had been thrice returned, should not again miscarry. Charles at once brought down his guards, and many feared that civil war might break out afresh. The king offered as a



WHITEHALL IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.

compromise that William, prince of Orange, the husband of the Princess Mary, should act as regent when James succeeded. But parliament was determined upon the exclusion bill, so Charles dissolved it in despair before it had sat a fortnight, and did not call another for the rest of his reign. While the legislature was fighting over that matter large numbers of Romanists were being put to death on the accusations of Titus Oates and others, who found profit and popularity in becoming informers; *e. g.*, Oates obtained a substantial pension of £1,200 a year, with a residence at Whitehall close to the palace of the king. Charles II. did not attempt to save the accused persons, although his sympathies were with them; for he rightly judged that if the whig party could be sufficiently imbrued with the blood

of innocent persons, public sympathy would be excited for Romanists, and James would stand more chance.—The most noted victim of Oates's evidence was Lord Stafford, who was tried and executed in December 1680. His speech to the multitudes assembled to see him beheaded, in which he declared his innocence, was responded to by sympathetic shouts of "We believe you, my lord! God bless you, my lord!" From that time the public discredited paid informers of the Oates' stamp, and began to appreciate the king's reluctance to disinherit his brother. When the fever heat of the nation had somewhat subsided, and his popularity returned, Charles renewed the treaties with Louis XIV.—in order to provide himself with money for the expenses of his court without assistance from parliament. A counterblast against the whigs was then invented by the Romanists, and Shaftesbury fled to Holland. The *Rye house plot*, to murder the king and his brother on their way from Newmarket to London, was also charged against the whigs; Lord Russell, Algernon Sidney, with others of the party, being executed for alleged complicity (1683), although the charges were certainly not proven. After that the king's party did as they pleased. James, duke of York, resumed his position as admiral; and it became certain that he would succeed to the throne. On Feb. 2, 1685, Charles II. was seized with sickness. He died Feb. 6. Up to the last his real religious convictions were unknown. Archbishop Sancroft and other prelates were in attendance during his last hours; and Bishop Ken pronounced the Church's absolution over him, after receiving an affirmative reply to the question, "Sire, are you sorry for the sins you have committed?" They pressed him to receive the holy Communion, but he evaded their suggestions. It was afterwards given out that a Romish priest named Huddleston, who had assisted in the escape of Charles after the battle of Worcester, had secretly administered the last rites of the Roman Church to him during the temporary absence of the courtiers. It is now considered certain that Charles II. had been a Romanist long before his death.

11. The Church in Ireland.—The Celtic Irish had never willingly emancipated themselves from the usurped control of the papacy, and adherents of the reformed episcopate consisted chiefly of descendants from Elizabethan colonists. When Cromwell put down the Irish rebellion, many of the poorer people were banished and the better classes compelled to emigrate; their lands and

possessions being divided among adventurers who had furnished Cromwell with sinews of war. Episcopacy was then suppressed, and its place taken by independency and presbyterianism. At the restoration the Irish bishops who had survived the commonwealth resumed control of their sees, and Jeremy Taylor was appointed to one of the vacant dioceses. Puritan ministers who subscribed to the liturgy and articles under the Irish act of uniformity (1666) were allowed to remain undisturbed, although they looked with great dis-



BISHOP JEREMY TAYLOR.

favour on the steps that were taken to enforce obedience to episcopal rule. The Bible and Prayer-book were translated into Irish about the same time. Had it not been for political troubles much might have been done towards healing past wounds, and joining the scattered bodies of Christians into an harmonious society. Charles II. had promised the Cromwellian settlers that they might keep the lands they had acquired; but that caused disaffection among the native gentry who had fought in his behalf, and stirred them up to enmity against the puritan party.

The disaffection increased when

James II. succeeded to the English throne and placed Ireland under the rule of *Lord Tyrconnel*. Romanists were then put in the places of all civil and military officers who were unfavourable to a revival of Romanism; benefices were kept vacant with the intention of presenting them to Romanists before long; while Romish priests were allowed to collect and appropriate the revenues of tithes and glebe lands. Under all those circumstances it was not likely that the Church could prosper. Indeed the Anglican clergy were subject to such persecution, under Tyrconnel's rule, that they fled from the country until the prince of Orange brought them back. A further reference to the Irish Church and its fortunes will be found on page 511.

CHAPTER XXV. (A.D. 1685–1690)

THE SEVEN BISHOPS

“A voice, from long-expecting thousands sent,
Shatters the air, and troubles tower and spire—
For justice hath absolved the innocent,
And tyranny is baulked of her desire.”

1. James II. and the Puritans.—Immediately after his brother's death the duke of York took his seat at the council board as *James II.* He at once gave a solemn pledge to defend and support the English Church, and received a loyal address in the name of the clergy from the bishops who were at court, they believing him to be a man of his word. But he took the earliest opportunity of demonstrating, by going publicly to “mass,” that he did not intend to withhold his allegiance to the Church of Rome. At his coronation Archbishop Sancroft consented to omit the English communion service, and has been blamed for such complacency. But it was surely better for him to have done so, than to have allowed the sacrament to be profaned by insisting upon its reception by one who did not hesitate to express his contempt for it. James acknowledged freely that his accession was due to the loyalty of churchmen to the doctrine of hereditary right, but made no secret of his aversion to the whigs and puritans who had tried so hard to exclude him from the throne. Very soon after his coronation the duke of Monmouth attempted an armed usurpation, which gave James an excuse for raising an army. Monmouth landed at Lyme Regis, in Dorset, and called upon the nonconformists to aid his pretensions. None of the whig nobles joined his cause, but many agriculturists and miners of the west of England flocked to the standard that the young ladies of Taunton presented to him. At the same time the presbyterians of Scotland had concerted a rising under the chief of the Campbells. Both those rebellions were promptly suppressed, and most vindictive measures taken against the leaders. In the west of England fugitives from Sedgemoor were hanged by scores in cold blood, until the good bishop of Bath and Wells (*Thomas Ken*) demanded that the victims should not be executed without trial. His good offices did not avail them much, for *Chief-justice Jeffreys* was sent down to try them; with the result that numbers were condemned to death, and many hundreds more mutilated, imprisoned, transported and enslaved.

Summary vengeance had already been taken under cover of the law, with the same cruel and blasphemous man for judge, upon informers of the popish plots. Titus Oates was condemned to a life-long imprisonment, with periodical floggings of terrible severity ; but he bore his punishment with wonderful firmness, and lived until the next reign, when he was liberated and again pensioned. The presbyterians of Scotland and England had next to feel the enmity of James II. The death penalty was imposed, by a statute of the Scottish parliament, on every one who should preach in a room or attend an open-air conventicle ; and the acceptance of the covenant was made high treason. The existing laws against English nonconformists also were strictly enforced, and the first to feel their hardship was the erstwhile leader of the presbyterian party, Richard Baxter. He was brought to trial before Judge Jeffreys, to answer a charge of sedition because he had spoken against the office of bishops. He admitted that he had spoken sharply about bishops of the Church of Rome, but claimed that he had always spoken honourably of the English prelates, and incurred the censure of dissenters thereby. And that was shown by his writings. But, as the time-serving judge had instructions to silence Baxter, the counsel were browbeaten, the defendant insulted, and the jury intimidated until an adverse verdict was obtained. Baxter was thereupon heavily fined, and imprisoned for eighteen months in default.

2. Non-resistance.—It was soon found that no one could expect favour from James II. who did not speak respectfully of the Church of Rome. In the second session of his parliament (November 1685) he desired that the *Test acts* (pages 441-3) might be repealed, so that his Romanist friends might be able to hold offices in the state ; but, by the narrow majority of one, the house of commons decided against its repeal. The king prorogued the session in anger, and his parliament never met again. James then proceeded to carry out a long-cherished plan of introducing Romanism by virtue of the royal prerogative. He appointed a Romanist gentleman to a command in the army ; and then had a test case set up against himself in the law courts, with the view of obtaining a judicial decision respecting his ability to dispense with penal laws in favour of individuals, just as he might grant a pardon to a man who had been condemned to death by the law. The judges, who had been carefully selected for their subserviency, decided that he could (June 1686) ; although every one knew that the exercise of royal prerogatives had been strictly limited, and that such a

decision must be subversive of all authority and law. If it were lawful for the king to dispense with the laws in favour of one man for reasons of his own, he might dispense with them in favour of any number of men ; and as parliament was not allowed to sit he proceeded to do so to an unlimited extent ; so that the decision of the judges had the effect of making him an absolute monarch, uncontrollable by parliament. Romanists resumed their seats in the house of lords ; and four of them, with the queen's Jesuit confessor, *Father Petre*, were sworn in as members of the privy council. The Savoy palace became a college for the Jesuits ; monks and friars paraded the streets as



JAMES THE SECOND.

in mediæval times ; and a florid Roman ritual was set up at the chapels royal of St. James' and Whitehall, to which the king went regularly in state. A papal nuncio was afterwards received at Windsor as ambassador to the English court, with most subservient homage ; and influential men were privately interviewed by James, in the hope that they might be persuaded to become Romanists. But no proselyte of importance was made by such means. On the contrary, a tempest of indignation was aroused in the breasts of nine-tenths of the people ; and the clergy, though submitting with sorrow to the indignities heaped upon themselves, were stirred up to a noble defence of the national Church, her doctrines, history, and privileges, against the flowing tide of papalism. As James saw that Anglican clergy had the best side in all arguments, he issued injunctions to restrain them from controversial preaching. But those injunctions failed to have the effect desired. James then revived the *high-commission court*, (July 1686) with Jeffreys as the new lord chancellor at its head, to summon and examine all clergy who continued to demonstrate by their preaching the apostolic character of the Church of England. A London rector (Dr. Sharp) was accused before it of using insulting language towards the king's religion, whereupon

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the commissioners ordered the bishop of London to suspend him. The bishop (Compton) declined, on the ground that he was the judge before whom the clergyman would have to be tried, and it would prejudice the case were he, by suspension, to assume the clergyman's guilt. The commissioners were so angry at being thus foiled that they passed over the clergyman and suspended the bishop instead. Those acts of tyranny were not likely to preserve the peace of the country. *Father Petre* was the king's chief adviser; but James II. also appeared to pay particular attention, for a time at least, to the famous quaker, *William Penn*; whose object was to obtain toleration for all religious beliefs. James agreed with Penn's arguments to a certain extent, because they could be applied to his own religion. Fifteen hundred quakers (and a still larger number of Romanists) were released from confinement; but other puritan lawbreakers remained in bondage. A few time-serving clergy were found willing to declare themselves of the king's religion, and they obtained dispensations from James to continue holding their benefices. The king then proceeded to appoint Romanists to such preferments in his patronage as fell vacant, the most notable being *John Massey*, whom he made dean of Christchurch, Oxford; having previously appointed *Samuel Parker* as its bishop. James also desired the university of Cambridge to grant the M.A. degree to a monk named Francis; and when the senate refused, because the monk declined to take the necessary oaths, the vice-chancellor and eight others, including the great philosopher *Isaac Newton*, were summoned before the high-commission court and punished. But the king's most ill-advised proceeding was an endeavour to force a Romanist upon the fellows of Magdalen college, Oxford, as their president. They refused to elect him, and appointed *Dr. Hough* instead, April 1687. The fellows were then cited before the high-commission, and Dr. Hough's election was declared invalid. Proofs of his rival's unfitness were so plain that James put forward a different candidate, and ordered the fellows to elect Bishop Parker for their president. They declined, on the ground that Hough was their duly elected president. James then went to Oxford with a troop of soldiers and expelled the fellows. Bishop Parker was installed by proxy, but he died soon after, and his place was filled by a Roman 'vicar apostolic,' who turned the college into a papal seminary. Considering that fellowships are recognised as freeholds, that was as arbitrary a proceeding as could well be imagined. It made a great sensation throughout England. Yet there was no active

opposition on the part of the Church, and no attempt at rebellion of any kind ; for the clergy were pledged to the doctrine of *non-resistance*. Archbishop Sancroft wrote a letter about that time to Princess Mary of Orange which exactly described the minds of Churchmen. " All we have endured cannot in the least shake or alter our steady loyalty to our sovereign and the royal family, in the legal succession of it ; yet it embitters the very comforts that are left us, it blasts all our present joys, and makes us sit down with sorrow in dust and ashes."



OXFORD CATHEDRAL, FROM MERTON MEADOWS.

3. The declaration of indulgence.—Although there was no open opposition, it was easy for James to see that his actions had aroused much hatred against Romanism. Public abhorrence of papal methods was still further excited by the constant stream of huguenot refugees from France. After the religious war that followed upon the massacre of St. Bartholomew (see page 354), the French king, Henry IV., issued the *edict of Nantes* (A.D. 1598) by which the huguenots were allowed the free exercise of their religious opinions, and the reservation of certain fortified towns, as La Rochelle (see page 386), where they might dwell securely when persecution arose.

In the year 1683 their persecutions broke out afresh. The least show of resistance was made an excuse for military massacres, and the huguenots were forced to fly. In 1685 the edict of Nantes was revoked altogether, and fearful sufferings were borne by the oppressed. Hundreds came to England, and were sympathetically received. Their tale of woe increased the national hatred of popery, and made it difficult for James II. to fulfil his designs. When he found that ardent royalists held aloof from his policy he left off persecuting protestant nonconformists, and sought to enlist their sympathies and good will by publishing a *Declaration of Indulgence* (April 1687), which suspended all penal statutes against Romanists and dissenters, abolished religious tests, and pardoned all who were undergoing penalties for their peculiar beliefs. But the *ruse* did not succeed. The efforts made to obtain addresses of thanks for that remarkable act of royal clemency had the most ludicrous results. Bishop Parker managed to persuade one clergyman in the diocese of Oxford to sign such an address, and two complacent priests were found in the diocese of Bristol. A few anabaptists and other extreme sects, altogether insignificant in numbers and influence, took advantage of the document and thanked the king; but the great bulk of protestant dissenters refused to accept a toleration that was only offered for the sake of licensing papalism. They knew that if the words of the declaration were "softer than butter" there was "war in its heart." In November 1687 James thought of calling another parliament, and he asked the lords lieutenant of counties to furnish him with names of persons, not belonging to the Church of England, whom he might nominate as candidates for election, notwithstanding that the law prevented any one from sitting as a member who would not subscribe the Church formularies. Many of the lords lieutenant resigned their posts rather than comply with that illegal order. In April 1688 James re-issued his declaration of indulgence, on the ground that it was not sufficiently made known; and with it the following order:—

"*At the Court at Whitehall, May 4.*—It is this day ordered by his majesty in council that his majesty's late gracious declaration, bearing date the 27th April last, be read at the usual time of divine service on the 20th and 27th of this month in all churches and chapels within the cities of London and Westminster, and ten miles thereabout; and upon the 3rd and 10th of June next in all other churches and chapels throughout this kingdom. And it is hereby further ordered that the right reverend the bishops cause the said declaration to be sent and distributed throughout their several and respective dioceses to be read accordingly."

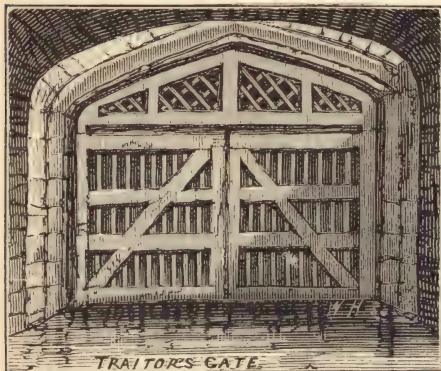
4. The bishops in the Tower.—It was one thing for the clergy to sorrowfully submit to the calamities the king brought upon them, but quite another to be aiders and abettors of the king in so flagrant a violation of the constitution as the suspension of a large number of laws without the consent of parliament. If the laws were intolerant, and the nation desired that they should be repealed, and the nation's representatives in parliament gave legal expression to their desires, the clergy would have submitted to the decision without a murmur. But the king was now rushing headlong into a course that the nation abhorred, against the expressed wish of the parliament; and although the clergy were determined to be loyal to their oath of "non-resistance," they would not help the king to break the laws; more especially as they knew his plan to be only an attempt to humiliate them and degrade the Church of England, which had proved to be the only safeguard for the country against Roman and puritan intolerance. The clergy of London hurriedly assembled to consider that order, and pledged themselves *not to read* the document.

Most of the bishops were away on their diocesan duties; but they were hastily summoned by the primate, and six bishops assembled in London under his presidency the Friday before the fateful Sunday. Having drawn up a respectful petition to the king, "not to insist upon their distributing and reading a declaration founded on a dispensing power as hath been often declared illegal in parliament," they took it to Whitehall the same night (May 18). Archbishop Sancroft was debarred from attending at court, because he had refused



A PROCESSION TO THE TOWER (see page 455).

to sit upon the high-commission ; but the other six bishops—Lake, of Chichester ; Trelawney, of Bristol ; Ken, of Bath and Wells ; White, of Peterborough ; Lloyd, of St. Asaph ; and Turner, of Ely—were admitted to the presence, and the bishop of St. Asaph gave the petition to the king. On reading it James exclaimed :—“ Here are strange words. I did not expect this from the Church of England. This is a standard of rebellion.” All the bishops most humbly disclaimed any desire of disloyalty, and Ken said :—“ I hope your majesty will grant to us that liberty of conscience which you propose to grant to all mankind.” “ I will have my declaration published,” cried the king. “ We have two duties to perform ; our duty to God, and our duty to your majesty. We will honour you but we must fear God,”



replied Trelawney. “ I will be obeyed,” said James, very angrily, as he dismissed them. “ God’s will be done,” were Ken’s parting words. The king’s advisers were puzzled what to do next. Not so the bishops and clergy. They had quite made up their minds, and other prelates hastened to add their names to the draft of

the petition in sign of their approval. All the eminent nonconformists, like Baxter and Howe, announced their intention to stand by the bishops and clergy, and when the appointed days arrived not 200 out of all the 10,000 clergy could be found to read the declaration. At Westminster-abbey the congregation hurried away as soon as the reading began ; and at Whitehall, because the clergy refused to read it, one of the choristers did so. James was in great fury, and the seven bishops were cited to appear before him in council on Friday, June 8. The news that they were summoned spread like wildfire, as the news of their petition had done, and on the day appointed all the avenues of approach to Whitehall by road and river were thronged with sympathisers. Acting under legal advice the bishops declined to answer the incriminating

questions put to them by Jeffreys. They were then told that they would be tried at Westminster for libel, and were bidden to find bail for their appearance. They pleaded the privilege of their peerage, and declined to enter into recognisances. They were therefore committed to the Tower. Their passage down the Thames resembled the triumph of heroes. Crowds lined both banks and shouted; "God bless your lordships!" Innumerable boats accompanied them, and when they reached the landing stairs at Traitors' gate even the sentinels who received them knelt to ask their blessing. So cheerfully did the bishops bear imprisonment pending their arraignment, and so marked were the enthusiastic demonstrations in their favour from all ranks, that they were soon allowed out on their own recognisances. They had been visited by so many people of rank and influence, during the time they were imprisoned, that it was more convenient to the prison authorities for them to hold such receptions in their own lodgings.

5. Trial of the seven bishops.—When June 29 arrived, the day appointed for the bishops to be tried, half the peers of England showed their friendship by attending the court, while the streets of Westminster were filled with eager multitudes, determined to do or dare anything if the bishops were condemned. A well-known Cornish ballad, composed subsequently for political purposes, enshrines in its refrain some of the strong feelings evoked by the trial:—

"And shall Trelawney die? And shall Trelawney die?

There's twenty-thousand Cornish men will know the reason why."

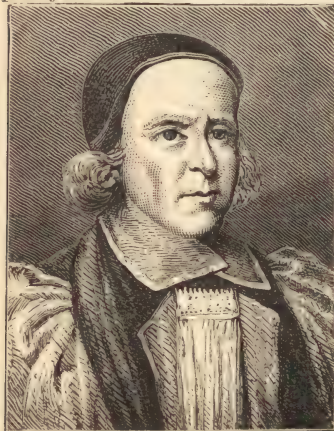
Portraits of "the seven" were eagerly bought, and cherished with loving care for many years after. The accusation against the bishops was that they had published a false, malicious and seditious libel. "Counsel for the defence urged that there was no publication, for the petition was placed in the king's hand;¹ that the petition was not false, for all that it contained was in the journals of parliament; that it was not malicious, for the defendants had not sought to make strife, but had been placed in a situation in which they found themselves by the action of the government; that it was not seditious, for it was seen by the king alone; that it was not a libel, but a decent petition, such as subjects might lawfully present to their king" (*Hale*).

¹ The petition however had been published; by whom is not known. Some think the king was privy to its distribution, in order to make a case against the bishops; others think some clergy were responsible for spreading it broadcast; but all agree that the bishops had no hand in the publication.

There were four judges. Two of them summed up against the bishops, and two in their favour. The jury were locked up all night. Eleven of the twelve soon made up their minds to acquit the prelates, but one obstinate man held out until the morning. He was the king's brewer, and he feared that a favourable verdict would lose him the royal custom, but as the eleven persuaded him that an adverse verdict would lose him the patronage of the beer-drinking public he was at last won over to their side. The court reassembled at 10 a.m. the next day, June 30. The great hall of Westminster was packed with sympathisers, who listened breathlessly for the verdict. Every arrangement had been made to signal the result of the trial all over the land, and when the foreman of the jury pronounced the magic words "NOT GUILTY" the exultation within and without the hall was unbounded.

"The bishops urged the people to be still
With outstretched hands and earnest speech in vain !
Yea, many, haply went to entertain
Small reverence for the mitre's offices,
And to religion's self no friendly will,
A prelate's blessing ask on bended knees."

The Church of England had never been so dear to the nation as then. Every one who was not a Romanist, whether they were churchmen, presbyterians or sectaries, thankfully acknowledged that the bishops



ARCHBISHOP SANCROFT.

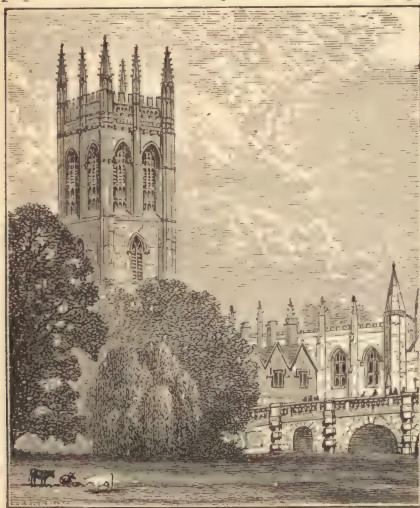
had fought for and won the constitutional liberties of England against absolute monarchy ; and the freedom of religion from papal intolerance. The king heard the verdict from a very unpalatable source. He was with his camp at Hounslow, which he formed in 1686 to overawe London, when a great shouting was heard among the soldiers. "What is that noise?" he asked. "Oh nothing," was the reply, "they are glad the bishops are acquitted, that's all." "So much the worse for them," the king rejoined. Even that unanimous expression of the nation's opinion could not turn him from his

fateful purpose. The tories then began to modify their doctrine of "passive obedience," and concluded that loyalty was due to the office, rather than the person, of a king; and that oppression on the monarch's part, in defiance of the laws, might justify 'resistance.' While the bishops were in the Tower, James proclaimed that the queen had given birth to a young prince. But public hatred against the Romanists who ruled at court was so great that the genuineness of that event was doubted, in spite of the proofs that James adduced. The child became a great annoyance to England (see pages 459, 460, 486).

6. The revolution.—While James had been trying to coerce the nation into Romanism many influential persons had been intriguing with his son-in-law, the prince of Orange; some with a view of making him regent, and others in order to make him joint monarch with his wife Mary. On the day of the bishops' acquittal seven influential persons, leaders of both political parties, sent a letter to William inviting him and his army to England. He at once consented, and proceeded to fit out an expedition for the purpose. In the meantime James continued to vex the land. He endeavoured to force the reading of the declaration by means of the high-commission. Three bishops, hitherto friendly to James, had been made commissioners, but they declined to act any longer. James then brought over Tyrconnel's Irish troops, who were Romanist to a man; for the English soldiers were unwilling to carry out his majesty's popish intentions. Not until the king of France sent warning of the Dutch expedition did James attempt to pause in his insensate career. On September 30 William prince of Orange issued a manifesto to say that, as husband of Mary, he was coming with an army to uphold the "protestant" religion; and to secure a full and legal parliament by whose decision he would abide. Then, when it was too late, James realized his folly, and sought to conciliate the Church. The bishops advised him to dissolve the high-commission court, to reinstate the fellows of Magdalen whom he had illegally ejected, to remove the Romanists from the privy council, to give up his evil practice of dispensing with the laws, and to call a free parliament. They also hoped he would give them some occasions to argue with him on the necessity of his return to the Church of England. The first three suggestions were adopted, the fellows of Magdalen being restored October 25; but James refused to yield his claim to the "dispensing power," and he scornfully refused to call a parliament while the country was threatened with an invasion.

James then wished the clergy to sign a *declaration of abhorrence* against William's expedition, but they refused. At the same time they looked coldly on the schemes of the prince of Orange because his declaration of September 30 made no provision for maintaining the rights and liberties of the English Church, and because of his Calvinistic bias.

William of Orange sailed from Holland October 19, but was driven back by contrary winds. He sailed again, November 2, with better fortune, and landed at Torbay, November 5. The national dread of papal terrorism will fully account for the popular rejoicing when it was



MAGDALEN COLLEGE, OXFORD.

known that the prince had arrived from La Hague with a fleet of 700 sail, and 16,000 Dutch retainers. No one desired to experience in England a repetition of the massacre of Piedmont and the troubles of the huguenots. As Evelyn wrote, there seemed to be a universal design throughout Europe to destroy all that would not go to mass; and therefore even foreign soldiers, whose antipathy to Romanism was beyond suspicion, were hailed as national deliverers. Their advent had the effect of

causing all Romanists in office to lay down their commissions, and quit the country; while the most trusted officers in James's army, with many of the rank and file, deserted to the hero of the hour.

7. A lost cause.—Military defections were soon followed by the desertion of James's youngest daughter to the insurgents; and the king, feeling that he could trust no one, sought safety in flight. London hastily formed a provisional government, and invited the prince of Orange, who arrived in London December 19. It was then arranged to call a convention parliament, which met January 22, 1689.

It contained a majority of whig members, and declared that, as James had deserted the nation, the throne should be settled on William and Mary as joint rulers. They laid down the terms on which they were to rule by summing up the illegal acts of James in the *Declaration of Right*; which were subsequently incorporated in a statute known as the "*bill of rights*." No one thought of mentioning the young prince, who was afterwards known as the *pretender*. William and Mary accepted the declaration (February 13) and were crowned king and queen. Thenceforth the supreme ruler of England became a constitutional monarch, as the servant, not the master of the legislature. The *English Revolution* thus completed had been accomplished without bloodshed, but there were still many people, especially in Scotland and Ireland, who considered that William was an usurper. Before very long James II. obtained sufficient help from the French king to put himself at the head of Tyrconnel's Irish army. But William sent his Dutchmen over, under Marshall Schomberg, and very soon followed with reinforcements. On July 1, 1690, there was a great battle fought on the banks of the Boyne river. The forces of James were utterly routed, and the supplanted king took refuge once more in France. From that moment the cause of the Stuart kings in England was lost (see p. 486).

8. The non-jurors.—The seven bishops who so bravely withstood the illegal acts of James II. to dispense with twenty acts of parliament, in order that he might introduce Romanists to high offices in Church and realm, were not among those who took part in the revolution. Having sworn to be loyal to King James they remained so; and even when he fled from his post five of the seven preferred to go into retirement rather than take an oath of allegiance to the invading prince, whom they considered an usurper,—though they would have allowed William to be regent, according to the suggestion of Charles II., if he would consent to allow all affairs of state to be transacted in the name of James II. In that action they were followed by other bishops and clergy,—notably the bishops of Gloucester, Worcester, and Chester—who preferred suspension and ejection from their benefices rather than renounce allegiance to James, whom alone they held to be the rightful king. Those *Non-jurors* were but a small body of men, about 400 clergy all told, with a corresponding proportion of laymen. Their exclusion from office by William's government deprived the Church of many learned, pious, and conscientious members; foremost among whom was the saintly

bishop Thomas Ken, of whom, however, it must be said that he declined to follow the rest of his brethren in their efforts to restore the Stuart dynasty. The conscientious scruples of many non-jurors do not admit of doubt, but their extreme ideas of hereditary right ignored the ancient elective character of the English monarchy. The decisive battle of the Boyne convinced most Englishmen that the revolution settlement could not be over-turned, and it would have been well for the Church if the non-jurors had contented themselves with knowing that they had no hand in the change of dynasty. Doctrines of "passive obedience" and "non-resistance" could never justify active and secret conspiracies against the *de facto* government, such as many of the non-jurors acquiesced in, especially after Mary's death. As William's government had been approved by nineteen-twentieths of the nation, the few English clerics who thought it right to withhold their allegiance were not well advised in separating from their fellow bishops and clergy as they did. They forgot that the Church does not exist for clergy, but clergy for the Church; and that clerical duties were never meant to include political opposition to a government that was willing to give them protection in the performance of their spiritual functions. After the death of James II., when the 'pretender' was recognised as king of England by the French, an *oath of abjuration* was imposed upon Englishmen, by which they were required to recognise William as the "rightful and lawful king." Whereupon, many who were content to obey the *de facto* government, but could not recognise the revolution settlement as a *de jure* government, joined the non-juring schism; and it was not until the close of the eighteenth century that the unhappy division came to an end.

9. Vacillating clergy.—The non-jurors were certainly free from any suspicion of interested motives, for they had all to lose and nothing to gain by refusing the oath. Their action was consistent, at any rate, and their firmness brought them many friends. Not so with the majority of the clergy, who did not feel their consciences violated by accepting the new order of things. Such were unceasingly reproached by those who refused to swear, for having allowed pecuniary motives to warp their judgment. In the large majority of cases the taunt was undeserved, but there were some men whose opinions varied with every phase of public opinion. Among them was William Sherlock, master of the Temple, who had been a warm advocate of

James II. and joined the non-jurors, but altered his mind and took the oaths, upon which he obtained high preferment. His conduct was reviled by non-jurors on the one side, and by revolutionists on the other; while people who cared for neither side cried out against "turncoats and time-servers." Those of whom Sherlock was the type were for many years assailed with satirical libels in prose and doggerel verse, such as the well-known Jacobite song *The Vicar of Bray*. That song is untrue so far as Bray is concerned; but it is easy to find parishes which did not change incumbents between 1680



BRAY CHURCH, NEAR MAIDENHEAD, BERKS.

and 1715. The clergy have no right to throw up their responsibilities at every change in the political atmosphere. Their first duty is to their cure of souls. It is a matter for devout thankfulness that the Church of England was not drawn into the vortex that overwhelmed the Romanist king James, by a general agreement to the 'declaration of abhorrence' which he desired them to make against his son-in-law's invasion. The election of the prince of Orange was in many ways advantageous to England; and chiefly because, in spite of his known preference for dissenters, it became impossible for any one to be monarch of England who would not uphold its Church.

PART VI

The Era of Progression

CHAPTER XXVI. (A.D. 1688–1714)

PEACE AND POPULARITY

“Henceforth, as on the bosom of a stream
That slackens, and spreads wide a watery gleam,
We, nothing loth, a lingering course to measure,
May gather up our thoughts, and mark at leisure
Features that else had vanished like a dream.”

1. The “protestant” succession.—Our business in this concluding part is to set forth some of the important events in English Church history during the last 200 years. It is a very chequered period, in which the Church experienced alternate seasons of calm and storm, wherein also she displayed both unaccountable lethargy and marvellous zeal. It is a period of which most people know something, so that we need not pay strict attention to chronological sequence; and as every one agrees that the connexion between the Church and realm of England has remained unchanged since the Revolution, we need not dwell much upon the continuous history of either. Both whigs and tories accepted the government of William III. for the sake of the constitutional privileges thereby assured, although extreme tories would have preferred not to disturb the Stuart succession. William outlived the unpopularity that his Dutch extraction and foreign friends had brought upon him, and before the close of the seventeenth century he was respected, if not loved, by the majority of Englishmen: not merely because the connexion with Holland had widened their commercial dealings with European states, but chiefly because his relations to parliament had made the religious and civil liberties of England safer and more real than ever they were before. The *Bill of Rights*, which passed Oct. 1689, containing the terms under which he held the throne from parliament, added a significant provision to the “declaration of right,” that no Romanist should be eligible to wear the crown, or be the monarch’s consort. The war which William had undertaken against France, in alliance with other European countries, had increased his popularity; and when a Jacobite plot to

murder him was discovered in 1696, a formidable association was formed among the w'igs for his defence, the members of which were pledged to uphold the anti-papal succession alluded to in the "bill of rights." The war with France seemed to be at an end in 1697; for by the *Peace of Ryswick* Louis XIV. agreed to abandon the Stuart cause and recognise William III. as the only lawful English king, and the Princess Anne for his successor on the throne. Although during William's life constitutional government was safe, the failure of heirs to Queen Mary, and the early deaths of Anne's numerous offspring, made it necessary for parliament to strengthen the "protestant" succession; and therefore an *Act of Settlement* was passed in 1701 (12 & 13 Wm. III., c. 2), which declared that, in default of heirs to Princess Anne, the succession should devolve upon Sophia, granddaughter of James I., who had married the elector of Hanover. That act contained the following distinct provision:—"Whereas it is requisite and necessary that some further provision be made for securing our religious laws and liberties, whoever shall come to the possession of this crown shall join in communion with the Church of England *as by law established*." This is the basis upon which all subsequent monarchs have accepted the English crown. The foregoing pages will enable the reader to understand that the peculiar and novel phrase "by law established," now so much made use of by opponents of the national Church, could not have been intended to mean that the Church had been recently founded; but that the nation, having had temporary experience of numerous ills from modern sects, desired to record its conviction that constitutional liberty and good order could only be secured by a firm adherence to the ancient Church; whose loyalty had been proved through storm and sunshine. The stipulation that the sovereign must be in communion with the Church of England proves that parliament at that time was quite as anxious to avoid any recurrence of the evils of the commonwealth, as it was to preserve the land from papal innovations.

2. The Toleration act.—Soon after the accession of William III. great efforts were made to cement the friendship between churchmen and nonconformists, which the national dread of Romanism had brought about. Two bills were laid before parliament for that purpose, known as the "*Comprehension Bill*," and the "*Toleration Bill*." Had the first been allowed to pass, all the Church's former struggles would have gone for nothing; for it aimed at nothing less than the complete

alteration of our liturgy and the *status* of our Church, in order to unite "their majesties' protestant subjects on terms wherein all the reformed Churches agree." The bill was first introduced into the house of lords; and owing to the support of William, and the absence of the non-juring archbishop, the peers were persuaded to pass it. The political cleric, Gilbert Burnet, who had just before been made bishop of Salisbury for his share in the negotiations that brought William to the throne, zealously advocated the measure; including a proviso in it which would have dispensed with kneeling at the reception of holy Communion. But when the bill was sent down to the commons they positively refused to discuss a measure which had for its object grave alterations in Church doctrine and discipline, but which had never been submitted for the approval of convocation. As the parliament of 1689 was only a convention, convocation had not been called together. The comprehension bill was therefore dropped until there was a new parliament and a new convocation, and nothing came of it after all (see page 481). The toleration bill had a better fate, for it readily passed both houses. Its chief object was to exempt all who should take the new oaths of allegiance and supremacy from the *penalties* imposed upon nonconformity by previous statutes; but it did not remove the disabilities which prevented them from being admitted to civil offices, nor did it allow them to worship freely after their own fashion, *unless their meeting houses were licensed* by justices of the peace. Romanist recusants were expressly excluded from the privileges of that act, as were those who denied the doctrine of the Trinity or the deity of our Saviour. Quakers were allowed by the act to make a solemn affirmation in lieu of the oath. Public opinion continued averse to freedom of thought in matters of belief. The laity, as proved by their attitude with respect to the comprehension bill, would have considered it a crime to assist in the propagation of what they believed to be error by allowing it to have free course.

Liberty of the press was closely connected with religious toleration. Hitherto books on geology, medicine, and philosophy had to be licensed by the archbishop of Canterbury, legal works by the lord chancellor, and works on history or politics by a secretary of state. The act by which those functionaries were made censors was only a temporary measure, renewable at stated periods. When it expired in 1695 it was not renewed; and thenceforward freedom of the press has been one of the acknowledged liberties of Englishmen.

*Headquarters
of the
S.P.C.K.
Charing Cross,
London.*



3. Religious societies.—The S.P.C.K.—During the reign of Charles II., and owing to the flagrant immorality and profanity that developed so alarmingly after the restoration, two London clergymen (Dr. Horneck and Mr. Smythies) made a special effort to prevent young churchmen from straying into vicious paths, by establishing associations under the direction of clergymen. Those guilds were to

be of a strictly devotional character, and their prayers those of the Church of England ; but the lay members were not allowed to recite such portions of the liturgy as are directed to be “pronounced by the priest alone,” such as the ‘absolution.’ The members met weekly for mutual assistance and consolation, and were bound to consider the wants of the poor ; to which end each member brought a weekly contribution according to his means. In the reign of James II., and for fear they might be used to promote Romanism, those societies began to be suspected, though without reason, for they proceeded to still more zealous works of piety and love. “When they saw the mass celebrated daily in the chapels royal and elsewhere, they resolved, in a spirit of laudable emulation, to set up daily prayers at eight in the evening at St. Clement Danes in the Strand ; where they never wanted a full and affectionate congregation. Their earnest anxiety to guard themselves from declension in religion led to more frequent reception of the holy Communion, and their carefulness to receive it with unimpaired reverence induced them to set forth preparation lectures on the Sunday and Friday preceding its administration at many churches in town ; and, not content with receiving the sacrament upon the holy days of the Church, they were in the habit of meeting at one another’s houses on the nights or evenings preceding, in order to discourse piously upon the subject matter of the day” (*Secretan*). A leader of those societies was *Robert Nelson*, son of a London merchant, who, although he retired temporarily with the non-jurors, soon returned to active work among his friends ; and in his *Companion for the festivals and fasts*, we are able to read the very words in which some of their meetings were conducted. Many people thought that those societies might lead to schism, and envious people endeavoured to suppress them ; though without effect until they came to be accused of Jacobite tendencies, and wrongly confused with the *societies for the reformation of manners*. [The latter were vigilance societies, founded to suppress vice by the legal prosecution of offenders against the moral code. Indeed many of the members were magistrates and lawyers, who felt called upon, by the growing impunity of vice encouraged in high places, to take special action ; and there seems reason to suppose that they did much to stem the tide of blasphemy and licentiousness which was then so high.] It is not too much to say that the religious troubles of the seventeenth century had been due to a want of accurate knowledge respecting the dogmatic teaching of the Church of England.

Individual effort was powerless to dispel that baneful cause ; but just before the close of the seventeenth century a means was provided by which it could be lessened. Out of the devotional societies there sprang a permanent institution, now well known as the S.P.C.K. It was founded May 8, 1698, by a clergyman named Dr. Bray, and four communicant laymen—Lord Guildford, Sir H. Mackworth, Justice Hook, and Colonel Colchester—who agreed to meet and consult as often as convenient, “under the conduct of the Divine providence and assistance, to promote *Christian knowledge*.” The society soon increased in numbers (Robert Nelson being among the first to join) and developed its working powers, both at home and abroad, by establishing elementary day schools for poor children, ministering to the sick and dying in the hospitals, establishing evening schools for illiterate adults, reclaiming the criminal classes, producing theological treatises, publishing religious tracts and healthy story-books ; endeavouring to promote the unity of Christendom, and supplying religious ministrations to the moving multitudes of soldiers, sailors and emigrants ; besides sending the gospel message to our colonists and their heathen neighbours. In 1705 it began to circulate Bibles and Prayer-books at a cheap rate throughout the country ; a work which it has continued ever since, and greatly extended. In 1709 it issued the Prayer-book in Welsh, and a Welsh translation of the Bible nine years later. Since then it has been actively engaged in supplying vernacular versions of the Bible and Prayer-book to assist missionaries in foreign lands.¹ In recent years the various departments of its work have greatly increased in magnitude, until its influence is felt throughout the world—in every English parish, every colonial diocese, and every foreign missionary station. It is the firstborn of many societies which (upon the principle of UNION, wherein is strength) have done for the Church of England in particular and the cause of Christianity in general, invaluable service. Over and over again its work has grown so far in excess of its capacity and original intentions, that new societies have sprung from it to undertake special departments. The *charity schools* of the eighteenth century (a very exceptional means of education until the S.P.C.K. made their cause its own) were for a long time the chief means by which rudiments of scholarship were imparted to the children of the poor. In 1704 there were fifty-four charity schools in and about London,

¹ For a list of the foreign literature of the Church published by the Society at the present day see *Official Year Book of the Church of England*, issued annually, 3s.

and one of the most pleasing sights of that time was to see three and four thousand of the little ones, uniformly and cleanly attired, assembled in some great church for their anniversary service. They may be considered as the forerunners of our national schools (see page 531), and before the 19th century dawned they had increased to 500.

4. Church work abroad.—The S.P.G.—Whenever new colonies have opened out fresh fields for the development of British enterprise and commerce, it has been a very important question how those engaged in such pursuits could be provided with religious ministrations. We have seen (p. 378–9) that Virginia became a Church colony, and that the puritans peopled New England, in the days of James I. Maryland became a Roman Catholic colony in 1633; and the island of Jamaica was acquired for this country in 1655. The Hudson's bay company was chartered in 1671 to trade with red Indians in Prince Rupert's land; and the quakers founded Pennsylvania in 1682. Meanwhile the East India company had so greatly increased its possessions that a new company was founded in 1688; but these were united ten years later. The Virginian colonists had all along maintained a few clergy; the long parliament professed to subsidise the New England missions among North-American Indians; and in the year 1662 the spirit of missionary enterprise was accepted by the Church of England, when it inserted in the prayer "for all sorts and conditions of men" a petition that God would make known his saving health unto all nations. The *Hon. Robert Boyle*, a director of the East India company, had done much to induce that corporation to recognise its spiritual obligations, and had even offered to lead a party of evangelists to New England, which he was prevented from doing. Just before his death in 1691 he made provision at his own cost for the annual delivery of lectures on Christian evidences, which should prove the Christian religion against atheists, theists, pagans, Jews, and Mahometans; and be assisting to all companies and encouraging them in any undertakings for "propagating the Christian religion in foreign parts." The same beneficent layman bequeathed the residue of his estate to the still existing "Christian faith society for the advancement of the Christian religion amongst infidels in Virginia;" the revenues of which are now applied to missions in the West-Indies. At that time no one ever thought of colonial or missionary bishops, and by an order in council, which dated from the reign of Charles II. all

clergymen abroad were placed under the episcopal direction of the bishop of London, who, in 1696, appointed the indefatigable Dr. Bray as his commissary to Maryland "to model that infant Church." It was on Dr. Bray's return from a first inspection of affairs there that he set about the formation of the S.P.C.K.; and one of the first resolutions that society had laid before it was his "scheme for promoting religion in the plantations." Knowing that the clergy who went abroad "were likely to be of the poorer sort," he started

a fund for printing and circulating suitable books among them (1697), a plan which was also applied to the necessities of the home clergy; and which developed into parochial lending libraries throughout Great Britain, through the instrumentality of a society which still exists under the title of the "Associates of Dr. Bray." In 1699 Dr. Bray went again to Maryland, and returned in 1701 to find that the work of the S.P.C.K. had far outgrown its ability, or rather that its constitution was not adapted for missionary propaganda. At his suggestion, therefore, convocation inquired into the necessities of Christianity beyond the seas; and

moved Archbishop Tenison to obtain from the crown a charter for the incorporation of the *Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in foreign parts* (otherwise the "S.P.G."), which should relieve the S.P.C.K. of the necessity of sending human instruments abroad; though the older society still continued to be responsible for providing educational machinery, as it does to this day. The active work of the S.P.G. commenced June 16, 1701, when it arranged for missions among the English traders at Archangel and Moscow;

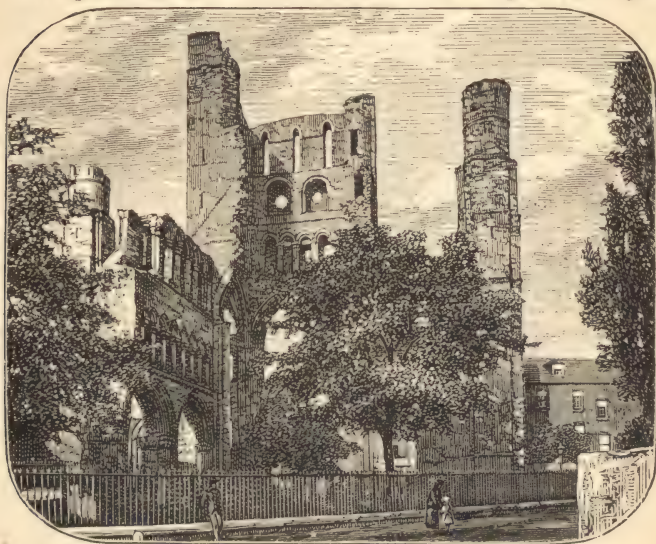


THE OLD EAST INDIA HOUSE.

following that up by sending clergy to America in 1702, and Newfoundland in 1703. "From the first, it aimed at the conversion of the pagans as well as the benefit of Christian emigrants and colonists ; but its income was very limited, never exceeding £6000 in any year of the first century of its existence." During the 19th century S.P.G. missions have greatly increased. Its figures for one year are here quoted as an example. The amount raised in 1896 was £133,516, and that sum enabled it to employ 763 clergy in different parts of the globe, 179 being natives of the districts where they labour. There were also in its various missions 2900 lay teachers, mostly natives. In its colleges 3200 students were being trained, and 38,000 children were under instruction in its native schools of Asia and Africa. In 1897 the Society received a substantial testimony to its usefulness from Mr. Charles Marriot, who bequeathed a share of his estate (about £200,000) for its work.

5. Scotch episcopacy supplanted.—The devotion of Scotch episcopalians to the Stuart family caused William III. to look upon them with disfavour, especially as his own sympathies were with presbyterianism. Cameronians were the first to proclaim him as king of Scotland, and that was felt to be an additional reason for his friendship with covenanters. The Scottish convention, which met in 1689, offered the crown of Scotland to William and Mary on much the same terms as the English had done ; but their declaration of right contained an ominous phrase, that "prelacy was a great and insupportable grievance ;" and the last clause of the coronation oath, which the Scottish commissioners tendered to them, bound the new rulers "to root out all heretics and enemies to the true worship of God" as laid down in the covenant. William III. objected to that clause and said :—"I will not lay myself under any obligation to be a persecutor ;" though when the commissioners assured him that such an obligation was not required, both he and Mary took the oath. Meanwhile the lowlands presented a wild scene of mob violence. The presbyterians showed themselves more intolerant than ever by forcibly ejecting ("rabbling" they called it) the episcopal clergy, oftentimes with bloodshed. In July 1702 the convention of Scotland formally disestablished Scottish episcopacy, and appropriated to presbyterian uses all the old churches of Scotland, together with the tithes and revenues that had hitherto belonged to the episcopal Church, which have ever since remained in the possession of the presbyterian body. Although William III. assented to that act, he

desired a general toleration throughout Scotland for all other religious communities *except the Romanists*, but that the Scottish parliament refused to allow. Many of the Scottish gentry, who were also episcopalian, had fled to the highlands and raised the standard of James against William; and stern measures were adopted by the latter to repress the rising. The official order of William III. to "extirpate MacIan of Glencoe and his tribe" is a great stain upon



RUINS OF KELSO ABBEY (*see page 369*).

his reign. Secretly, and under the guise of friendship, an armed band of William's supporters under Captain Campbell were quartered upon the clan thus devoted to the sword; and after a sojourn of fifteen days, during which they received much kindness and civility, the guests fell upon their hosts (Feb. 13, 1692) and put them to death.

For the rest of William's reign Scotland was comparatively tranquil, but in 1703, when Princess Anne had succeeded William on the English throne, there was again considerable trouble, caused chiefly by the "*Act of Security*," which corresponded with the prior English

act of settlement. That there should be no misunderstanding, the Scottish parliament solemnly declared that presbyterianism was the only true Church; and refused consent for the successors of Queen Anne to succeed to the Scottish throne unless securities were given for the presbyterian religion, and for an equitable share in commercial privileges. That became the law of Scotland in 1704, Queen Anne being induced to give her assent in order to accomplish the union of the kingdoms; for although one monarch had reigned over the whole of Britain ever since James I. ascended the English throne, Scotland and England were distinct kingdoms with separate legislatures. The union of the kingdoms was brought about in 1706, though not without great opposition from the Scots, who had all to lose, and little to gain, as they thought. There was a natural objection to the surrender of national independence to a kingdom which they had resisted for centuries; and the trading classes feared that they would lose advantages when Edinburgh should cease to be a capital. Jacobites predicted the certain ruin of the Stuart cause; and covenanters feared the possible loss of presbyterianism. English churchmen, too, were in no mind to ally themselves again with a presbyterian body. The religious difficulty was got over by the understanding that, although there should be only one state—with a legislative body in London to which the Scots should send a given number of representatives—there should be no changes made in either national Church. The *Act of Union* on those terms passed the English parliament in 1707; and a new national flag was formed by a conjunction of the crosses of St. Andrew and St. George. When, later on, Ireland was united with England, the red cross of St. Patrick was laid upon the white cross of St. Andrew, and that combination became our *Union Jack*. The Scotch episcopate continued to be down-trodden for many years, though recently it has wonderfully revived. A difficulty had arisen in 1689 as to the patronage of the established presbyterian churches, because the patrons were chiefly landed gentry who were for the most part episcopalians; they were therefore deprived of their rights as patrons. Those rights were restored to them in 1712, but great ill-feeling resulted between different parties in the presbyterian system; which grew in intensity as years rolled by, and led to a great secession from the *Established Kirk* in 1843, when the *Free-Kirk* men withdrew and set up a society of their own. An attempt was made in 1874 to heal that breach by

transferring the ancient patronage to the male communicants of each congregation, but the free-kirk men seemed to be in no mind to return whence they came out, and therefore the schism continues.

6. Queen Anne's bounty.—Queen Anne was most anxious to show her hearty acceptance of the spirit of her coronation oath by heartily patronising all church work; and she quickly learned that most of the English clergy were exceedingly poor. The value of many benefices had been little more than nominal since the dissolution of monasteries (and consequent permanent alienation of rectorial tithes) had deprived them of the major part of their ancient endowments.

We have referred (pp. 281 and 342) to the appropriation by the crown of the annates and first-fruits; the payment of which still further impoverished the incumbents. More than half the benefices were of less value than £100 a year; and as the first-fruits and tenths amounted in the aggregate to more than £16,000 a year, it was a considerable tax. Bishop Burnet claims the credit of having persuaded Queen Anne to sanction a tardy act of justice by which the first-fruits and tenths, though still obliged to be paid, might be transferred to a common fund, administered by churchmen for the benefit of poor livings. That

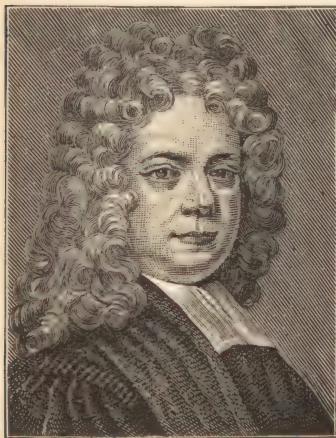


QUEEN ANNE.

fund was called by churchmen *Queen Anne's bounty*: it having been announced that she had acceded to the measure in celebration of her birthday (February 6, 1704). But there was an immediate benefit to the clergy by the further announcement that *all arrears should be remitted*. The fund so started has been greatly added to by private munificence since Queen Anne's day. *E.g.* in the church of Ellenhall, there is a memorial tablet which states that—"Mr. John Webb by his will gave the sum of £500 to the governors of Queen Anne's bounty, the interest thereof to be paid half-yearly to the perpetual curate forever in augmentation of his income." Those who desire to benefit others after their own decease, infinitely prefer to place

their bequests in the safe keeping of some respectable corporation which is willing to act as their trustee. The bounty board now holds several millions of such trust money. Queen Anne did not give money to the Church out of her private purse or the public funds, nor does parliament grant to her successors any indemnity for waiving a supposed right to a succession duty upon livings, as some have erroneously stated. In subsequent enactments, which have fixed the monarch's private income, there is not a single word said about any money being granted in consideration of Queen Anne's surrender of first-fruits and tenths; and therefore it is wrong to consider grants from the bounty fund as payments by the state out of taxes.

7. Impeachment of Dr. Sacheverell.—Queen Anne's reign is noted for the growth of party government in civil affairs. Previously, it had been the custom for the monarch to choose chief advisers from whigs as well as tories, though there might be a majority of one or the other; but it soon became customary for governments to be selected from one party only, while the other party formed the opposition, as it is to this day. All tories were avowed churchmen, as indeed were most of the whigs; but as the latter were more inclined to favour toleration of dissent, the nonconformists joined their party.



HENRY SACHEVERELL, D.D.

Bishop Burnet tells us also that the party names "high-church" and "low-church" came into use at the same time; but his explanations of the differences between them show that his use of 'high-church' was equivalent to 'tory,' and that 'low-church' meant the same as 'whig.' Queen Anne's first government was chiefly whig, and became entirely so; its leading spirit being the popular victorious general *George, duke of Marlborough*; who exercised despotic sway over the conscience of the queen by means of his wife. But another lady, *Abigail Hill*, who belonged to the tory party, was put forward to supplant the

duchess of Marlborough in the favour of Queen Anne; and moved her majesty to rely exclusively on tory councillors. Newspapers were not then allowed to report parliamentary debates, and public opinion was formed by pamphleteers and political preachers. The great whig pamphleteer was *Daniel Defoe*, author of *Robinson Crusoe*; and his rival in the tory interest was *Jonathan Swift*, the dean of St. Patrick's, and author of *Gulliver's Travels*. Those men spent their time in satirising public men and events of the day. Bishop Burnet constantly preached political sermons in the whig interest; and on the other hand, a chaplain of St. Saviour's priory, *Dr. Henry Sacheverell*, won popularity by abusing the whig government in his pulpit utterances. He preached a violent sermon before the lord mayor from the text, "In perils among false brethren," and another at the assizes in Derby; both of which roundly denounced the government, much to the delight of the tories, who published the sermons, and scattered them broadcast, with a view of influencing the coming elections. The angry whigs impeached the doctor before the house of lords, and a great state trial was the result.

"'High' and 'low,'

Watchwords of party, on all tongues were rife;
As if a Church, though sprung from Heaven, must owe
To opposites and fierce extremes, her life—
Not to the golden mean, and quiet flow
Of truths that soften hatred, temper strife."

Public opinion was all in favour of Sacheverell, and even the queen did not disguise her sympathy with him; for she went down daily to the trial in her sedan chair, alongside which the people ran and shouted:—"Sacheverell and high-church! we hope your majesty is for Dr. Sacheverell." The court condemned him to suspension from his benefice for three years, and his sermons to be burned by the common hangman. That comparatively mild sentence after three weeks' trial was received with unbounded glee by the multitudes, because it was a virtual triumph for the tories. But the mob were not satisfied with that "moral victory." They had been reading Dean Swift's clever satires on whig appointments to bishoprics, and really thought that the Church was in great danger from the evident sympathy of the government with nonconformity. Democracy showed its glee in the usual barbarous and unjustifiable way. Not satisfied with lighting bonfires all over London, rioters attacked the meeting houses of dissenters and pulled out the seats to replenish

the flames ; while the guards who were called out to quell the tumult refused to disperse the mob. Sacheverell was soon loaded with honours and preferments ; and his progress through the country to take possession of them was made the occasion for tory political demonstrations. Queen Anne then dissolved parliament, and writs were issued for a new general election. Tory candidates were nearly everywhere victorious, and the Marlborough faction was ousted from seats of government. That was the only incident of note during Queen Anne's reign in which civil affairs were affected by the action of the clergy ; but it sufficed to bring the Church a greater measure of prosperity than it had known for centuries.

8. Popularity of the Church.—Canon Overton says :—“ Nothing marks more strongly the popularity of the Church at this period than the evident fact that no one had the least chance of a hearing unless he professed a friendship for, or at least no hostility to her. Those who were her bitterest enemies assumed an apologetical tone.” And again :—“ The fact is that, though it is exceedingly doubtful whether the state was of much use to the Church, there is no doubt that the Church was of very great use to the state ; it was a name to conjure with, and it was used accordingly.” But the popularity of the Church showed itself in various other ways, and notably in the restoration and rebuilding of the churches which had been so sadly devastated during the commonwealth. But all work of that kind faded into insignificance compared with the rebuilding of St. Paul's cathedral. The foundation stone had been laid June 21, 1675 ; and the choir opened for worship in 1697 ; but the nave and transepts were not completed until several years after, while the top stone was not affixed until 1710. We regret that, in the reign of William III., Sir Christopher Wren was first put on half-pay, and then dismissed from his post of surveyor, because people considered that the work progressed too slowly. The great dome of St. Paul's is somewhat of a deception. There are in fact two domes, an inner and an outer. The central lantern and spire which we see from the outside does not appear to be supported by either ; but by a stone cone of masonry between the domes which rise from the lower storey of the drum. St. Paul's cathedral has since competed with Westminster-abbey for the bones of English heroes, and among those buried there is its architect. An inscription on the inner porch of the north transept bids those who desire a monument for Wren to “ look around.” The

consecration of St. Paul's cathedral was attended by Queen Anne, amid great state ceremony. In 1711 an act was passed by the new tory government (9 Anne, c. 1) making provision for the building of fifty-two "new churches in or near the populous cities of London and Westminster and the suburbs thereof." The needful funds were to be provided out of the city coal dues as before (see page 439), and they were all to be built within a given time; but for some unexplained reason the project collapsed, for only twelve were built, and three or four others repaired, in spite of the fact that the time limited for their building had been considerably extended. The style in which the twelve were built was very like that of Wren, though he was too old at the time to take an active part in the work. St. Mary-le-Strand and St. Martin's-in-the-Fields may be taken as examples of the churches erected under that act, but although the coal dues were in part appropriated towards their edification, private munificence had a large share in their adornment.

The accompanying portrait of Bishop Thomas Wilson is not out of place here. He was consecrated to the see of Sodor and Man in 1697, and remained its bishop for 58 years! He is still revered as the writer of devotional books, with which his own life corresponded; but his episcopate was troubled by a long and severe conflict with the civil authorities of the island, who objected to his enforcement of Church discipline over a wayward flock—clergy and laity alike. More than once he rebuked the English bishops for laxity of rule.



BISHOP THOMAS WILSON.

9. Hardships of nonconformity.—A state paper published in the early part of the reign of William III. estimates the religious divisions of the population thus:—Church people 4,954,508; dissenters 217,152; and Romanists 27,712. In Queen Anne's reign the proportion of nonconformists could not have been much more. One of the first measures introduced in parliament on the accession of Queen Anne was the *Occasional Conformity Bill*. The old test act (see pages 441–2) prevented any one holding positions under the crown unless they received the holy Communion at stated periods. It soon became known that many civil servants qualified themselves for office by fulfilling the strict letter of the test act, but infringed its spirit by attending dissenting meeting houses at all other times. They were called “occasional conformists,” and were much disliked by the extreme tories. The occasional conformity bill proposed to inflict heavy fines on such double dealing. It passed through the house of commons in 1702, but the lords so altered its provisions that it fell through. The next year it was again accepted by the commons but rejected by the lords. In 1704 it was again brought forward and the commons incorporated it with the ‘bill of supply’ which the house of lords could not alter. That was resented as infringing the legislative functions of the peers; and the measure was shelved until Sacheverell's affair gave the tories a majority. In 1711 the bill was again introduced in an altered form, and under a new name, when it passed almost without opposition. Two years later there was another general election on account of the war which the tories had brought to an end; with the result that an important minority of whig members were returned. In May 1714 the *Schism Act* was submitted to that new parliament and passed the commons by a majority of 276 against 126 votes, although it only obtained acceptance in the lords by the narrow majority of three. It forbade the keeping of public or private schools by any persons who refused to conform to the national Church or failed to obtain licence from the bishop of the diocese in which the school was situated; but no licences were to be granted by the bishops unless the applicants could show that they had fulfilled the provisions of the test act. That would have put an end to nonconformist schools, but happily the act was never enforced; for Anne died on the very day that it was to take effect (August 1, 1714). Both the occasional conformity bill and the schism act were wisely repealed February 18, 1719.

The tory policy was travestied by Defoe with such verisimilitude in his *Shortest Way with the Dissenters* that it was at first accepted with enthusiasm; but when he published a key to the satire, and tories found how artfully they were entrapped, the writer was pilloried for sedition and put in prison. But he was released the next year. Defoe's pamphlet is really an argument in favour of complete toleration; for he also attacks his own friends the dissenters, because when they had the power they did not respect their opponents. "Now, like the cock in the stable, they are quite willing to propose to the horses 'let us all keep our legs quiet.'" It was perhaps to be expected that nonconformists would be ignored whenever churchmen were in favour; but we should be careful not to test the customs of those times by the standard of our own day, either with respect to the relative positions and treatment of nonconformists and churchgoers, or with reference to the disorderly habits which are reported of some who were regular in attendance at church.

10. Pews in churches.—It is to be feared that the churchmen were then too much absorbed in current political questions to pay sufficient regard to reverent behaviour in Divine worship. It was a common practice for men to wear their hats in church, though for the matter of that they wore them everywhere until powdered wigs came in vogue. The excessive levity of court ladies during service time provoked the ire of Bishop Burnet. His complaint to Queen Anne was thus transposed by a satirist:—

"Then pray condescend such disorders to end,
And to the ripe vineyard the labourers send,
To build up the seats: that the beauties may see
The face of no brawling pretender but me."

That is an obvious reference to the high pews which had then become fashionable. The well-to-do had appropriated privileged enclosures to themselves and their families in the parish churches, just as others now do when they lease portions of a concert-hall. They would fit up their pew or their gallery in the most approved style of upholstery and wood carving, whilst the poor had to make shift with the meanest accommodation. By the end of the eighteenth century there was scarcely a parish church throughout the land which did not contain one or more of such family pews, the tallest and most elegantly fitted belonging to the most notable residents; while even the churchwardens had their stately seat, whence they could obtain an uninterrupted view of a garishly gilt inscription which

told that the edifice had been repaired and beautified—*i.e.*, white-washed and made hideous—during their tenure of office. Many of those pews continued so long in the possession of certain families, and occupants of manor houses, that it was supposed they were held by prescriptive right; on which faculties were granted by diocesan chancellors which made it almost impossible to dispossess the holders. Although rich folk were eager to claim for themselves a share in the



misappropriation of the area of the parish churches, they were by no means so eager to occupy the space allotted for their use; and woe betide any poor creature who trespassed upon their preserves. Sir Christopher Wren much desired that there should be no pews in the churches that he built; but he records "there is no stemming the tide of profit of pew-keepers; especially since by pews in the chapels of ease the minister is chiefly supported." And when the scheme of building fifty-two new churches was started, he was almost pathetic

in his protest, that "a church should not be so filled with pews, but that the poor may have room to stand and sit in the alleys, for to them equally is the gospel preached." The idea that the tenancy of particular houses in a parish includes the right to have reserved pews in its church has now become exploded; and it is much more in accordance with the spirit of Christianity that there should be no distinction of persons in the places where we meet to worship the universal Creator. Happily those pews are now nearly all gone.

CHAPTER XXVII. (A.D. 1714-1830)

THE GEORGIAN ERA

“As to the sandy desert fountains are,
With palm-groves shaded at wide intervals;
Such to this British isle her Christian fanes,
Each linked to each for kindred services; . . .
Where a few villagers on bended knees
Find solace which a busy world disdains.”

1. The silencing of convocation.—Reference was made on pages 463-4 to the comprehension bill, which was thrown out by the house of commons because it had not been previously submitted to the Church's legislative body of convocation. William III. admitted the mistake, and hastened to complete the representation of the English constitution by summoning convocation to debate the measure. It is customary on the assembling of the Church's legislature, as in parliament, for the members to vote a loyal address to the king in reply to his summons. The upper house of convocation was then lacking in dignity and influence owing to the absence of the non-juring bishops; and when it had drawn up the address the lower house refused to adopt some of its phrases, especially one which gave the title of “protestant” to the Church of England, as though she were on a par with the foreign and presbyterian communities which had broken away from ancient traditions and appropriated to themselves that distinguishing prefix. The bishops were obliged to yield the point, though there ensued a very unedifying conflict between the upper and lower houses for a long time. When the comprehension scheme was submitted to the lower house they declined to have anything to do with it on the ground that the Church of England needed no alteration, whereupon, through the influence of Dr. Tillotson (whom William III. had marked out to succeed Sancroft in the primacy) convocation was prorogued, and not allowed to meet again while Tillotson ruled. There can be no doubt that the action of the lower house of convocation saved the Church of England and her formularies from being stultified and mutilated. Had the proposed comprehension scheme been agreed to there would have been a most lamentable separation from the Church on the part of those who appreciated apostolic doctrine and fellowship, which must have increased the number of non-jurors and shaken the constitutional foundation which we now owe to the revolution. It was not until 1701 that convocation met again, and during the interval

much controversy ensued respecting the privileges of the lower house; the proctors claiming that it stood in the same relation to the upper house as the house of commons did to the house of lords. Dr. Tenison had succeeded Tillotson as archbishop of Canterbury, and there was unseemly strife between him and the proctors because he claimed to have a right of proroguing the lower house, which they denied on the ground that the lord chancellor cannot prorogue the house of commons. In Queen Anne's time the disputes between the upper and the lower houses increased, owing to the fact that the majority of the bishops had been nominated for their sympathies with the whig interest and



KING GEORGE THE FIRST.

favoured the dissenters; whence arose the cry of "the Church in danger," that increased to a roar when Sacheverell was impeached. About the same time one Dr. Hoadley gave utterance in his sermons to what were considered startling opinions, which helped to increase the fears of the lower house; because the bishops made no attempt to inhibit him from preaching. He was an extreme advocate of what is called latitudinarianism, which favoured or palliated anti-Christian and infidel opinions. Continual prorogations of convocation prevented any official condemnation of such opinions; and Dr. Hoadley became the champion of the whigs, as Sacheverell had been of the Tories, because

he boldly denounced the divine right of kings through which the Jacobites were striving to restore the Stuarts to the throne. In 1714 the whigs came into office again, and soon after Hoadley was made bishop of Bangor; from which official position he published a book that denied the value of episcopacy, and the need of any particular form of belief, which was followed up by a sermon that denied the existence of a visible Church. Anything more unfortunate, coming from a bishop of a Church which held that the tenets he denied were of vital

necessity, could not well be conceived. 'High-church' and 'low-church' denounced Hoadley, but the government which appointed him was determined to uphold their nominee at all costs. When convocation met in May, 1717, the lower house unanimously censured Hoadley's writings, whereupon the government prorogued convocation before the upper house had time to confirm the censure; and refused to allow it to meet again for the dispatch of business. Thenceforward, and until the year 1850, although convocation was formally called together when new parliaments were elected, it was not allowed to exercise its undoubted right of promoting legislation for the needs of the Church of England. To that arbitrary interference with her ancient prerogatives—for the Church's right to assemble in council is older by centuries than the English parliament—may be traced the greater part of the troubles that afterwards came upon her. "The Church, denied the power of expressing her wants and grievances, and of that assertion of herself in her corporate capacity which the constitution had provided for her, was assaulted at their will by unscrupulous ministers of the crown, and feebly defended by latitudinarian bishops in an uncongenial assembly. Her ministers might now give utterance to the most heretical, and even blasphemous teaching, without fear of censure, and there remained no agency for altering and adjusting her system to meet the varying requirements and opportunities of the times" (*Perry*).

2. Calm in the Church.—Queen Anne died in 1714; and although she had been anxious that her half brother, whom Mary of Modena had borne to James II., should succeed her on the throne, the fear the nation had of Jesuitry made it imperative for the government to proclaim the son of the Electress Sophia as king, and that was why the Lutheran prince, George I., a foreigner by birth and speech, ascended the throne without opposition, thus introducing a new line of kings. Though we may regard his succession with satisfaction, when we consider that it saved our land from a restoration of papal errors and intolerance, it cannot be denied that the Church of England had to suffer a long period of neglect as part of the bargain. The four Georges reigned for 115 years, during which period the life of the Church seemed paralysed. George I. inaugurated an era of peace, during which the temporal welfare of the nation progressed very rapidly, but his immoral private life set an ill example to society at large; and the silencing of convocation showed that Church life was not likely to be advanced by those whom he had placed at the head of civil affairs.

The Georgian era has been termed the *siesta* of our English Church, but that is a very mild way of expressing a sad condition of things. It was a period of religious indifference and apathy; but the prevalent spiritual gloom was here and there relieved by brilliant gleams of light which have not yet ceased to shine. The life of the town was very unsatisfactory; but in the seclusion of many villages there lived earnest parochial clergymen who endeavoured by speech and pen and pious example to stem the torrent of vice and irreligion. There were many non-juring clergy also who, though unable to do their full part, were unfailing in attendance day by day at the services in their parish churches, whose saintly life amid distracting surroundings did more good than sermons. Foremost among them we must reckon *William Law*, who, though in latter life a disciple of German mysticism, wrought a strong influence upon the religious thought of succeeding generations, chiefly by means of his *Serious Call to a Devout and Holy Life*, which was published in 1726. He also remorselessly exposed the errors of Bishop Hoadley, and with such remarkable incisiveness that the latter made no attempt to answer his repeated challenges.



STOKE-POGES CHURCHYARD, BUCKINGHAMSHIRE.

A remarkable illustration of the unassuming influence diffused by the Church in quiet country districts is ready to hand in the famous *Elegy* written by the poet Gray when staying at Stoke-Poges. It appeals to the universal instinct of humanity; and imparts a permanent charm to the most commonplace sentiments. We should hardly think as he did were we to visit the spot without knowing what he wrote; but we are surprised, after reading and seeing, that the thoughts did not arise in our own minds. Here is one verse:—

“Hark! how the sacred calm that breathes around,
Bids every fierce tumultuous passion cease;
In still small accents whispering from the ground
A grateful earnest of eternal peace.”

The poem was published in the middle of the eighteenth century, and serves to indicate the influences for good that were then unconsciously diffused by the Church in rural parishes. Oliver Goldsmith also, some twenty years later, in his poem of the *Deserted Village* (after a careful study of the country during several years for the express purpose), forcibly sums up the unassuming yet invaluable lives of many clergymen.

“Thus to relieve the wretched was his pride,
And e'en his failings lean'd to virtue's side;
But in his duty prompt at every call,
He watch'd and wept, he pray'd and felt for all;
And, as a bird each fond endearment tries
To tempt its new-fledged offspring to the skies,
He tried each art, reprov'd each dull delay,
Allur'd to brighter worlds, and led the way.”

In the busier life of court and society *George Berkeley* occupies a foremost place among the clergy. He was an Irishman, and owed his reception in the world of letters to Dean Swift. He was also a philosopher, and possessed of great conversational powers. He obtained the deanery of Derry in 1724, and the bishopric of Cloyne in 1733. While dean he started a plan for evangelising American Indians by establishing a missionary college on the island of Bermuda; and he so persuaded members of the legislature of its necessity, that the government promised him £20,000 for the purpose. On the faith of that promise he embarked with his wife for America, and lived at Rhode-Island; where he matured his plans and waited for the money, but it never came. He had therefore to return, grievously disappointed at the failure of his plan. Although his fanciful schemes were thwarted at the time, posterity has endorsed Berkeley's forecast of America's future greatness as the seat of empire.

The reigns of George I. and George II. were slightly disturbed by Jacobite risings which aimed at restoring the Stuart dynasty. In the



CHARLES EDWARD STUART.

autumn of 1715 the 'pretender' James Edward Stuart made a feeble attempt to gain the throne, but soon gave up the idea. A more formidable rising in 1745, led by his son Charles Edward, looked dangerous for a time ; but the victory of George II.'s son on Culloden Moor put an end to such pretensions, and compelled European states to recognise the 'protestant succession' in England. After a wandering life 'Prince Charlie' died in Rome without heirs, A.D. 1788 ; and his brother Henry, who became a Roman cardinal, died in 1807. The Jacobite cause has since been hopeless.

3. Growth of infidelity.—In the year 1707 the Socinians, who denied the divinity of our Lord and the doctrine of the Holy Trinity, were sufficiently numerous to form themselves into the distinct religious community henceforth known as *Unitarians*. They were chiefly drawn from the English presbyterians, and were closely allied with the English Deists ; whose chief exponent was Dr. Samuel Clark, a Church of England clergyman who had adopted latitudinarian views, and who, though he had retracted some of his earlier writings while convocation was allowed to deliberate, plunged into heretical tenets after its suspension preserved him from fear of censure. At the same time such teaching gave rise to an army of 'freethinkers,' and sceptical works were issued from the press in rapid succession. They were replied to by a host of scholarly churchmen ; such as Warburton, Waterland, Sherlock, Berkeley, Horne, Leland, and many more ; who had taken up Christian evidence work in succession to Bishop Bull, John Locke, Ralph Cudworth, and Richard Cumberland. But the chief champion of orthodoxy was *Joseph Butler*, who became bishop of Bristol in 1738, and afterwards bishop of Durham ;

which see he declined to vacate when offered the archbishopric of Canterbury. Two years before his elevation to the episcopate Butler published a great work called *The Analogy of Religion, Natural and Revealed, to the Constitution and Course of Nature*; which has ever since held a foremost place in the intellectual armoury from whence theologians select their weapons against the champions of unbelief. He thus states the circumstances which led him to compose the book:—“It is come, I know not how, to be taken for granted by many persons that Christianity is not so much as a subject of inquiry, but that it is now at length discovered to be fictitious. And accordingly they treat it as if, in the present age, this were an agreed point among all people of discernment, and nothing remained but to set it up as a principal subject of mirth and ridicule, as it were by ways of reprisals for its having so long interrupted the pleasures of the world.” That this was not an exaggerated picture of the times we learn from an official charge of Archbishop Potter, A.D. 1738, which states:—“An open and professed disregard to religion is become through a variety of unhappy causes a distinguishing character of the present age. This evil is grown to a great height in the metropolis of the nation; is daily spread through every part of it; and bad in itself as this can be, must of necessity bring all others after it. Indeed it hath already brought in such dissoluteness and contempt of principle in the highest part of the world, and such profligate intemperance and fearlessness of committing crimes in the lower, as must, if this torrent of impiety stop not, become absolutely fatal. And God knows, far from stopping, it receives from the ill design of some persons and the inconsiderateness of others a continual increase. Christianity is now ridiculed and railed at with very little reserve, and the teachers of it without any at all.” Many who wrote in favour of Christ’s teaching adopted an apologetic tone, and even Bishop Butler is said to have expressed a conviction that the pillars of the Church were tottering. The following lines, adapted from a modern poet, fairly describe the situation:—

“With the soft airs of summer there had come
A torpor on her frame. A drowsy sloth
Fettered her limbs like palsy, and her mien
With all its loftiness, seem struck with eld.
Even her voice was changed; a languid moan
Taking the place of the clear silver key;
And brain and sense grew faint; as if the light
And very air were steeped in sluggishness.”—*N. P. Willis.*



BISHOP BUTLER (*see pages 486-7*). was next degraded by the writings of *Tom Paine*. His books were full of rank blasphemy, and avowedly intended to cause discontent among the illiterate and poor. Those pernicious writings drew forth valuable rejoinders from *Dr. Richard Watson*, bishop of Llandaff, which were written in plain and simple terms suited to the comprehension of unlearned folk; while for the better educated, *Archdeacon Paley* wrote his famous *Evidences of Christianity*. It will thus be seen that God never left Himself without witnesses, whether men would hear, or whether they would forbear. While on the subject of literature it must be stated that matters were not mended by the stage plays and works of fiction that the Georgian era produced. If men like Samuel Richardson, the father of novelists, wrote "namby-pamby" tales; they were not improved upon by the coarseness of Fielding, Smollet, and Sterne; who cannot be excused from censure on the ground that they did but speak of things as they found them. If their books "held the mirror up to nature", the social conditions of the time were not much to be proud of. Happily England was spared from the destructive literature with which France was flooded at the same period by *François Marie Arouet* (Voltaire) and *Jean Jacques Rousseau*, of whom Dr. Johnson once said:—"It is difficult to settle the proportion of iniquity between them." Amid such infidelity and immorality

Deistic and Trinitarian controversies raged all through the eighteenth century, not only in England but in France as well; where they resulted in the fearful reign of terror known in history as the "French revolution" (A.D. 1789). A little before (1776) the faith of many intellectual people had been shaken by the publication of Gibbon's *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*; in which he accounted for the wonderful spread of Christianity in the primitive ages on purely human grounds, without any recognition of Divine direction and support. Literature

the simple faith of many Christian people was helped by a number of short poems on sacred subjects, which appeared from time to time as lights in a dark place. We have not space to mention many hymn writers of the eighteenth century, but there are two whose names cannot very well be left out, viz. *William Cowper* and his friend *John Newton*; the latter being a very energetic clergyman who once had charge of the parish of Olney, in Bucks. It was at Newton's suggestion, and under the inspiration of his teaching, that



OLNEY CHURCH, BUCKINGHAMSHIRE.

Cowper helped to write the *Olney Hymns*, many of which are incorporated in modern hymnals and constantly sung in churches, such as:—

“Oh for a closer walk with God.” “How sweet the name of Jesus sounds.”

“Glorious things of thee are spoken.” “God moves in a mysterious way.”
etc. Their immediate acceptance showed that, even if the enterprising spirit of the Church lay dormant for a time, her devotional mind was not dead. She was but slumbering after a wearying period of labour, sorrow, and strife. She would wake again to renewed energy.

4. The Wesleys.—Among the best known of the country clergy, in the early part of the eighteenth century, was Samuel Wesley, rector of Epworth, in Lincolnshire; whose name, however, would scarcely have been handed down to posterity had not two of his children become famous. Both he and his wife Susanna were the offspring of puritan ministers who had been ejected after the restoration, yet both discarded the principles of their parents and adopted those which were known as ‘high-church.’ Three of their sons, Samuel, John, and Charles, became clergymen. Samuel, junior, died in 1739. *John Wesley* was educated at the London Charterhouse school, where his physical exercise consisted in a daily circuit of the garden three times before breakfast. He won a scholarship at Oxford, and was ordained deacon in 1725 on obtaining a fellowship at Lincoln-college. A careful study of Jeremy Taylor’s *Holy Living*, and Law’s *Serious Call*, impressed him with the necessity of leading a deeply religious life; and in 1728 he became curate to his father at Epworth. In the meantime his younger brother, *Charles Wesley*, was graduating at Oxford university. Their father had been a great defender of the devotional societies mentioned on page 466, and had established a flourishing one in his parish; so that the young Wesleys were quite familiar with religious guilds. When John Wesley returned to Oxford to take up his position as a college tutor, he found that his brother Charles, then a student of Christchurch, had inaugurated such a society among a few undergraduates; who met every night for mutual improvement and devotion, and spent their spare time during the day in giving religious instruction in the charity schools, the jails, and workhouses; and generally, by their life and conversation, endeavoured to influence for good the other students of the university, who had unhappily caught the materialistic spirit of that age. The leadership of the guild, or “Holy club” as it was contemptuously called, was naturally offered to John, who accepted it gladly. For their pains in trying to set a good example the Wesleys were much ridiculed; and one of the names by which their society was known (the term ‘methodist’) stuck to the members all through life, until it became an honoured and well-understood name, even among themselves. It seems strange now to read that their ‘method’ consisted in a strict observance of all that the Prayer-book demands from “truly conscientious sons of the Church of England,” but there can be no doubt of it. They fasted on all the appointed

days, and communicated every Sunday or holy-day. They also denied themselves of every luxury and amusement in order to save money for benevolent deeds. In 1735, soon after the death of their father, John and Charles accompanied General Oglethorpe and his party of Moravian emigrants to Georgia, Charles as the general's secretary, and John as a missionary under the direction of the society for propagating the Gospel. They did not have much success there, because they



CHARTERHOUSE SCHOOL IN EIGHTEENTH CENTURY (*see page 316*).

sought to impose Church discipline in its fulness upon the colony; instead of regarding their flock as composed of persons whose training in the rudiments of Christianity had been utterly neglected, and who therefore needed to be nurtured gently with the milk of God's word.

The brothers Wesley returned in great disappointment after two years of fruitless labour, and joined the Moravian society in Fetterlane, London, which *Peter Böhler* had founded. From Böhler they learned the doctrine of *Conversion*; *i. e.* that each believer ought to be able to point to some definite time, place, and circumstance when, where, and by which the assurance of individual pardon and salvation

came to his soul. John Wesley recorded with precision the circumstances of his own 'conversion' as having taken place May 24, 1738, accompanied by feelings of ravishment, followed by an infinite calm. For a long time such ecstatic feeling was thought by the Wesleys to be a necessary condition and sign of individual acceptance with God; and is still so considered by certain methodist societies, although the brothers soon found cause to renounce the idea. Then the Wesleys separated from the Moravians; and John began to be strongly impressed with the idea that he ought to go throughout the length and breadth of England, and reclaim people from the spiritual apathy that was settling like a blight upon the nation. Up to 1739 the pulpits of the churches were freely open to him, but after that date the clergy developed a strong opposition to methodism, owing to the dangerous eloquence possessed by one to whom we now refer.

5. George Whitefield.—Among the members of the Wesley club at Oxford was a poor young man, son of a widow who kept an inn at Gloucester, George Whitefield by name; who was a servitor student at Pembroke-college, Oxford. His genuine piety led the



GEORGE WHITEFIELD.

bishop of Gloucester to ordain him before the canonical age; and when the Wesleys returned from Georgia he went thither to try his hand, but soon came back for money to carry on the mission. As Whitefield's preaching was known to be attended by very great excitement a prejudice arose against him, and he took to preaching in the open air with remarkable results. He began at Bristol, which at that time was a centre of vice in all its worst forms, and he sought to provide spiritual privileges for the colliers who lived like heathens near that city. Preaching in the open air

was so great a novelty that sometimes 20,000 people crowded to hear him, and the white gutters caused by the tears which ran down their unwashed cheeks showed how visibly they were affected; strong men being moved to hysterical convulsions by his wondrous power. John Wesley joined him there, and was not a little perplexed at those "bodily

symptoms"; but at length he willingly encouraged them as evident "signs of grace," notwithstanding that Whitefield considered them to be "doubtful indications." It is difficult to say wherein the effect of Whitefield's preaching lay; certainly not in his language or logic, for his printed sermons and writings contain nothing remarkable; it must have been by earnestness and charm of voice, for presently he attracted to him the rich as well as the poor, and thus he was able to gain funds for his foreign expeditions. No less than seven times did he visit Georgia, no mean voyage in those days, and the traditions of every part of England bespeak his incessant labours as an itinerant preacher. It is said that he sometimes competed with showmen at the fairs for the attention of the multitude, and that after one such occasion he received 1000 letters from different people in testimony of their 'conversion.' Of his power to move intellectual minds Benjamin Franklin gives testimony; for that famed American scientist once heard Whitefield preach a charity sermon. "As he proceeded I began to soften, and concluded to give some copper; another stroke of his oratory made me ashamed of that, and determined me to give the silver, and he finished so admirably that I emptied my pocket wholly in the collector's dish, gold and all." Whitefield had a commanding presence and fervid dramatic action; but he was only a preacher, and not always judicious. Also he soon diverged from Church doctrine and adopted the theories of the Calvinists, so that the Wesleys ceased to co-operate with him. Some of the revivalists who followed Whitefield eventually founded the community known as the "Calvinistic methodists," but he always repudiated the idea of founding a sect. Although most fashionable people considered the emotionalism of the methodists as a mark of vulgarity, there were others who thought differently; the most notable of them being *Selina, countess of Huntingdon*, over whom Whitefield exercised great influence. She not only gathered round her men of rank and intelligence; but applied her own wealth, and funds that she raised, to train and support clergy who were to be considered as her chaplains. Her coterie followed in the steps of Wesley and Whitefield by setting the parochial organisation at naught, and there was much danger lest Church discipline and Church order might be placed at the mercy of a woman's arbitrary will. But a London clergyman obtained a legal decision against two of Lady Huntingdon's chaplains who preached in an unconsecrated building in his parish without authority, and then

her ladyship had to "register" her meeting houses as dissenting places of worship; her followers being known as *Lady Huntingdon's Connexion*. She established a training college for her ministers at Trevecca, in south Wales, which was afterwards removed to Cheshunt in Hertfordshire, where it is now one of the richest dissenting colleges. When the methods of her chaplains were proved to be an evasion of the law, many clergy walked no more with her; but the Calvinistic principles enunciated by Whitefield continued to spread among churchmen, and their awakened zeal gave rise to what is known as the *evangelical party* within the Church (see page 497). Whitefield worked too hard to live long. He died in 1769, aged fifty-six.

6. Methodism.—Lives of John Wesley are so numerous and cheap that it is unnecessary to give a detailed description of his ministerial career in these pages, even were there room. He was undoubtedly great as a preacher, but it was in organisation that he most excelled; and in that he has never been surpassed. His first deviation from the stereotyped customs of the Church was the appointment of *lay preachers*, whom he sent into every part of England and Wales to work in appointed "circuits." He did not wish their preaching to enter into competition with the ordinary church services, but to supplement them. This began in 1741. Three years previously Wesley had opened preaching houses at Bristol and London, which we should now call "mission halls"; and they were rapidly multiplied in all directions. There would have been nothing ecclesiastically unlawful in such measures had they received episcopal sanction; but Wesley was at all times impatient of direction, and could not see for many years, what others plainly perceived and pointed out to him, that they might at any time develop into a rival ministry and rival churches. By 1744 the Wesleyan plan was thoroughly organised into a system, and Charles Wesley hoped that it might receive official sanction as a powerful auxiliary of the Church. It ought to have been, and most certainly would be now; but that result was prevented by several errors of judgment on the part of John, and by the ambition of the lay preachers whom he had commissioned. The zeal of the latter made them welcome among the people, much to the chagrin of some careless and indifferent shepherds in neglected parts of the fold; but they soon began to consider appointment by Wesley as equal to ordination by a bishop. England was then reminded of the "preaching friars" of mediæval times, and of the poor preachers of Wycliffe, who went

about the country without licence from the ordinary, and set the parochial system at defiance. A cry of "Jesuits in disguise" arose against the new evangelists (which greatly increased in 1745, owing to the political excitement of the Jacobite rebellion, with which it was said the "methodists" were in sympathy), and this not unfrequently resulted in stupid brute violence against the Wesleyan preachers.

Although the bishops refused their sanction they did not hinder the cause, or inhibit from preaching any clergy who joined the Wesleys, as they had the power to do; but the movement was received with much hostility by many of the clergy whose parishes were invaded; some of whom resolutely declined to administer holy Communion to the members of Wesleyan societies, when they came to church for that purpose in accordance with the rules of "methodism" which John and Charles Wesley had laid down. In such cases John Wesley allowed the clergy who belonged to



REV. JOHN WESLEY.

his societies to administer sacraments in the new preaching houses, after which he allowed his lay-evangelists to use the Prayer-book. In 1749 Charles retired from the government of the societies, in which he had hitherto borne a share, lest he should be held responsible for the schism that would inevitably follow if the lay-evangelists assumed priestly functions as they were inclined to do. Charles was the poet of the movement, and his hymns helped it on quite as much as the sermons and administration of John had done. Some of his hymns are often sung by churchpeople now. Among them we may mention—

"Jesu, lover of my soul!"

"Soldiers of Christ, arise!"

"Lo! he comes with clouds descending." "O! for a heart to praise my God."

"Love Divine, all loves excelling." "Hark! the herald angels sing."

"Hail the day that sees him rise." "Victim Divine, Thy grace we claim."

There are many more. John Wesley also occasionally wrote hymns; one of them, "Author of life Divine," is very familiar to communicants

of the Church of England. Charles Wesley died in 1788, and was buried in Marylebone churchyard according to directions expressed by him just before his death :—"I have lived and I die in the communion of the Church of England, and I will be buried in the yard of my parish church." John Wesley was of like mind, but after he lost his brother's co-operation he drifted nearer and nearer to the rock of division. One of his numerous biographers tells us that—"He lived and died a hearty but inconsistent churchman," which may be considered an epigram. Several times during his long life John Wesley had to combat the desire of his followers for independent existence, expressed by them in their annual conferences, but his vigorous administration staved off the evil day of schism. As John Wesley drew near his end it became necessary to incorporate the societies by deed in chancery, in order to provide for the government of the 'connexion' after his death. That was done in 1784, and thenceforward the methodist societies have been administered by a corporation of 100 trustees, who form the 'Wesleyan conference' and meet annually. Methodism soon extended its influence throughout the United Kingdom, and made rapid strides in America. Its central home was at the City road chapel, London, E.C. ; near which John Wesley lived, died, and lies buried. In 1790, just before his death, he published these words :—"I hold all the doctrines of the Church of England, I love her liturgy, and approve her plan of discipline, and only wish it could be carried out" ; and to the last he deprecated any separation from the national Church. For a while after his death his wishes were respected, and so late as 1793 the "conference" declared :—"We are determined in a body to remain in connexion with the Church of England." There has never been any formal declaration of separateness ; but it is nevertheless true that the 'conference' of 1795 practically separated methodism from the Church of England, by claiming power to confer priestly functions independently of the English episcopate. The conference also resolved that, in cases where the members of a society formally desired that their lay preacher should administer sacraments, it might be allowed. John Wesley is not free from the suspicion of having permitted this grave irregularity before his death. The lay preachers were *appointed* by the conference up to the year 1836 ; when the then president, ex-president, and secretary commenced the practice of *ordaining* to the ministry by "laying on of hands," although it is certain that the power of ordination had never

been conferred on them. For this also they could claim a precedent created by John Wesley, who 'set apart' Dr. Coke to be *superintendent* of the Wesleyan societies in America, from which anti-episcopal act the methodist episcopal Church in the United States obtained their succession of 'bishops.' This explains the chief obstacle to unity between the various methodist societies and our Church. They seem to think it would be a reflection on the past and present status of their 'ministry' if their preachers were to accept ordination at the hands of English bishops. We are not without hope that the schism may yet be healed. "If the disposition for unity shall exist, the other obstacles will appear small, and readily to be moved away. Submission to the Anglican form of ordination will then, as a difficulty, block the path no longer. When He, who needed no baptism from the hand of any man, desired to comply with an ancient rule, saying:—'Suffer it to be so now, for thus it becometh us to fulfil all righteousness,' He spoke along the centuries to all who deem lightly of forms and ceremonies, and to all who are ruled by that feeling which by some is called pride, and by others self-respect" (*Denny Urlin*).

7. The evangelical revival.—George III. prided himself on being an Englishman born and bred, and as he resolved to avoid the immorality and scepticism that disgraced his predecessors there was some hope for religion under his rule; although it was long before the tide of infidelity was arrested. The rough awakening from lethargy that methodism had brought to the Church of England was not without its good results, notwithstanding that for a long time her clergy seemed undecided as to the best course to adopt. The firm administration of the diocese of London by Bishop Porteus dissuaded many from the disregard of episcopal authority which was the bane of methodism; but the Wesleyan idea of 'conversion,' and Lady Huntingdon's system which denied man's 'free-will,' had taken a great hold upon many earnest minds within the Church. The more direct result to the Church of the "methodist revival" was the emphatic exaltation of preaching. The clergy seem to have endeavoured to evangelise the land afresh; for they addressed professing Christians after the style in which St. Paul might have addressed the Athenians who had never heard of the atonement. In spite of its incongruity this practice had a wondrous effect upon the fashionable world; in which most men and women had so entirely neglected attention to spiritual concerns that they seemed to have been unconscious of their need of a Saviour.

To bring home to such people a strong conviction of their exceeding sinfulness, and a sense of God's amazing love to man in sacrificing His own dear Son, was indeed a meritorious endeavour. And it was done with such success that before the close of the eighteenth century a whole army of sincere and earnest men and women were devoting themselves to the task of reclaiming all ranks of life from the depths of iniquity into which they had sunk. In numerous biographies

"We read of faith and purest charity
In statesman, priest, and humble citizen."

Henry Venn the elder, James Hervey, William Romaine, Hannah More, Charles Simeon, John Thornton the banker, Richard Cecil, and *William Wilberforce* are names still freshly remembered as having been in the van of the revival; and of these the last mentioned occupies a foremost place, not only by reason of his eminence as a politician and philanthropist, but also on account of his earnest and genuine piety. When a young man he was attracted by Whitefield's influence, to the dismay of his grandfather, who angrily said:—"If Billy turns methodist, he shall not have sixpence of mine." His mother, too, feared that his religious scruples might make him censorious. Neither suspicion was realised, for, after consultation with the same Mr. Newton who helped Cowper to write hymns at Olney, he became the model of a Christian statesman. His memory is universally beloved for his efforts in suppressing the traffic in human flesh which then



WILLIAM WILBERFORCE.

disgraced the world; for it was mainly through his influence that parliament passed the acts of 1787 and 1807, the one to mitigate the sufferings of slaves on board ship, the other to abolish the iniquitous traffic altogether. It was not until the close of his long life (1833), after he had retired from active politics, that his complete idea of the emancipation of slaves was accomplished by a parliamentary grant of £20,000,000 in compensation to the colonial slave owners. But Wilberforce was equally intent upon uprooting the national sins of Sabbath breaking, duelling, pugilism, profanity, intemperance, and other social evils. His *Practical view of Christianity*, published at the close of the eighteenth century, was intended to promote consistency of character among Christians; and it was through him that Henry Martyn became the pioneer missionary of the East-India company's trading-stations, and that a bishop and three archdeacons were sent to Calcutta in 1814 (see p. 547). His advice was sought by men of all parties whenever any idea was afloat for the general welfare, and when he died the whole country mourned the loss of his boundless sympathy.

The chief drawback to the evangelical revival was that it undervalued the ecclesiastical system of creeds, sacraments, daily services, and the yearly round of fasts and festivals. The prominence given by it to the doctrine of *The Atonement* to the exclusion, or nearly so, of other essential parts of the Christian scheme; and the excessive merit applied to preaching, because of its immediate effect in the hands of worthy men at a time of religious lethargy; are now generally acknowledged to be defects which prevented it from satisfactorily influencing the Church, or building up Christians after they had been 'converted.' At any rate, however the fact may be accounted for, a fact it is, that the intense vigour and earnestness which marked the prime movers in the revival did not descend to their immediate successors in either ministry or congregations, as the wretched dilapidations of our churches in the middle of the nineteenth century plainly showed.

8. Evangelical societies: The C.M.S.—But the missionary spirit which moved the founders of the evangelical movement to stir up their brethren at home, impelled them also to think of the spiritual condition of the heathen lands from which the slaves had been chiefly drawn. Friendship with dissenters, which was courted by the more decidedly Calvinistic members of the revival, resulted in the formation of 'unsectarian' societies, in which nonconformists and evangelical churchfolk co-operated, but in which the latter were the

largest subscribers. Among them may be mentioned the *London Missionary society*, founded in 1795 by "all denominations," which in time became exclusively a dissenting corporation; the *Religious Tract society*, founded in 1799, the committee of which has always been composed of an equal number of nonconformists and churchmen; and the *British and Foreign Bible society*, founded in 1804, which has been instrumental in translating and circulating the Scriptures, complete and in portions, in a very great number of foreign languages; besides cheap copies in our own tongue. The total issues of the Bible society from its formation up to 1898 have been enormous.



C.M.S. MISSION STATION, ISLAND OF DESHIMO, JAPAN.

But the greatest outcome of the revival was the *Church Missionary society*; the popularity of which is indeed remarkable. It was set on foot April 12, 1799, for the purpose of sending missionaries amongst the heathen; because "as it appeared from the printed reports of the S.P.G. and S.P.C.K. that those societies confined their labours to the British plantations in America and to the West Indies, there seemed to be still wanting in the established Church a society for sending missions to the continent of Africa or the other parts of the heathen world." The C.M.S. was at first called "The missionary society for Africa and the East," from a desire to avoid friction, even in name, with the missionary work of the older societies which were

working elsewhere. Its operations are not now restricted to any special portion of the globe. Its first president was the Rev. John Venn. The word 'Church' was added to its name in 1812, probably to distinguish it from the other evangelical societies just mentioned. Since that time its work has gone on steadily increasing. Some idea of its work may be gathered from the following figures. Its ordinary income for the year 1897-98 was £305,624. It had then 483 missionary stations; in Africa, Asia, India, Ceylon, the Mauritius, China, Japan, New Zealand, North-west Territories, and the Pacific. It supported 411 European and 357 native ordained missionaries; 127 European lay missionaries; 254 lady missionaries, exclusive of 300 missionaries' wives; 5601 native Christian lay teachers; and it reported 230,237 native Christian adherents; of whom 63,768 were communicants. It also maintained 2191 schools, in which there were 82,696 scholars. In connection with the C.M.S. there are a flourishing Zenana mission (whereby Eastern women are reached) and an important medical mission.

9. Parliamentary grants.—It is sometimes objected against the Church of England that during George III.'s reign she received sums of money from parliament towards building and endowing new churches; and therefore it is argued that parliament has the right to take away all monies by which the Church is now supported. Oddly enough this argument comes chiefly from dissenters, who have themselves received a larger sum of money from parliament than the Church has done. *E.g.* presbyterians and other dissenters in Ireland received £1,903,854; while the corresponding denominations of England and Wales obtained about £216,660. Add £768,929 received by the Irish nonconformists in commutation of their grants in 1870, and a total of £2,889,383 is arrived at. The grants to English dissenters came about in this way:—In A.D. 1722, Sir Robert Walpole, then chancellor of the exchequer, recommended George I. to pay out of the royal treasury an allowance to certain distressed dissenting ministers as a charitable grant from the king's personal bounty; hence it was known as the *Regium Donum*. The recipients were presbyterians, independents, and baptists in equal proportions. On the other hand the Church of England has received as follows:—From A.D. 1809 to A.D. 1820 annual grants of £100,000 for the augmentation of poor livings, which was distributed through Queen Anne's bounty board. In A.D. 1818, £1,000,000 was granted in aid of church building, and

that was supplemented by £500,000 more in A.D. 1824. Thus the total sum received by the national Church is £289,283 less than that bestowed upon nonconformists. It should also be noted that the large grants for church building did not come out of taxes, but was the surplus of a war indemnity paid to this country by Austria after the battle of Waterloo. They were given as a thankoffering, for Great Britain was then enjoying considerable prosperity, and many Englishmen wished to remove the reproach of vice and infidelity which had for so long disgraced our nation. The evangelical revival had proved that religion could stem the torrent of iniquity; and it was a wise policy for the advisers of George III. to encourage the local endeavours of churchmen to build new churches in poor and populous parishes. The sums received for the repairing and building of churches were expended by a church building commission, and from its report in 1831 we find that some of the money went in loans, and some was spent in Scotland, but that most was given in small grants to meet private benefactions from the localities where the churches were built.

The high favour with which the government then regarded the Church is mainly due to the remarkable influence of *Joshua Watson*; who was the leader in all Church enterprises during the first quarter of this century. He extended the influence of the S.P.C.K. by organising depositories all over England; and was the prime mover in the formation and early work of the *National society* in 1811, of which we have treated more fully on page 531. As treasurer of the S.P.C.K. he was instrumental in handing over to the S.P.G. the missionary trusts of S.P.C.K., so that each society might pursue a single object with undivided energy. The Indian episcopate was an immediate outcome of that simplification. He also promoted the *Incorporated Church Building Society*, A.D. 1818, which has been instrumental in stimulating marvellous liberality among Church people to provide free and unappropriated seats for the poor in the large majority of our churches. During the first twenty years of the nineteenth century, the average number of churches built yearly all over England was less than five, but in the next ten years over 300 were built. It was through Mr. Watson's indefatigable zeal that the grants for church building were voted by parliament. He was one of the commissioners appointed to distribute those grants; and it was through him that state aid was provided to create the West Indian episcopate, in order to cement that colony to England, lest it might secede as America did (see p. 545).

CHAPTER XXVIII

RELIGIOUS LIBERTY

“A State whose generous will through earth is dealt;
A State—which, balancing herself between
Licence and slavish order, dares be free.”

1. Removal of nonconformist disabilities.—It was our duty to state the means by which certain repressive laws against different bodies of religionists came upon the statute-book. It is now a more pleasing task to show the various steps by which they were removed. The principle of toleration was laid down in the reign of William III. (see page 464), for, by the toleration act, as Judge Mansfield pointed out, “the dissenter’s way of worship is permitted and allowed; it is not only exempted from punishment, but rendered innocent and lawful; it is established; it is put under the protection, and is not merely under the connivance of the law.” At the same time it was felt by each succeeding government that civil offices ought not to be placed in the charge of any one who was not a churchman, and therefore nonconformists were disabled from taking any official share in affairs of state. In process of time, when public fear of recurrence to the miseries of the commonwealth had subsided, those disabilities were found to press hardly on many conscientious persons, and also to deprive the realm of the advice and co-operation of many worthy citizens. During the reign of Queen Anne, as we saw, ‘occasional conformity’ was declared illegal; although the act which made it so was soon repealed. But the ‘test’ and ‘corporation’ acts remained in force. In 1728 an *Act of Indemnity* came into existence, which was renewed from year to year, to relieve certain office holders from the penalties imposed by those acts for non-reception of holy Communion; though the acts themselves were not repealed. The toleration act of 1689 had exempted all nonconformists, except Romanists and Socinians, from subscription to the disciplinary portions of the thirty-nine articles, though they were obliged to sign the doctrinal parts; but after 1778, subscription to the articles was no longer required from protestant nonconformists who declared their belief in the Old and New Testaments. After that the test and corporation acts did not press hardly on dissenters; yet their retention on the statute-book was a serious reflection upon the social status of those who did not

wish to attend church services. In 1787 an attempt was made to repeal the test and corporation acts altogether; but the house of commons decided, by a large majority, to retain what were then considered national safeguards. Two years later a second attempt was made and failed, though only by twenty votes, and for many years no further action was taken to repeal them *en bloc*. Efforts were made, however, to repeal them piecemeal, by obtaining exemption from certain exceptional clauses. In 1812 dissenting ministers were relieved from certain penalties of the 'conventicle act' which the toleration act of 1689 had not repealed; and in 1813 the Socinian assemblies which had hitherto suffered the greatest repression, were allowed free expression of their peculiar interpretations. After that the test and corporation acts were a nullity, and in 1828 they ceased to form part of the law of the land. Thus the last obstacle to civil and religious liberty, so far as the public profession of Christianity was concerned, was removed. But there were still some matters in which nonconformist ministers were at a disadvantage as compared with the Church clergy; *e.g.*, until 1836 no marriage was valid unless solemnised by a clergyman of the Church of England; but in that year the legislature accepted the principle that had been in vogue during the commonwealth by regarding marriage as a civil contract merely. From that time, by having the civil registrar in attendance, nonconformists might be married in any dissenting place of worship. By the act 3 & 4 William IV., c. 30, chapels were put upon equal terms with the ancient churches by being exempted from taxation, so long as they are exclusively appropriated to public religious worship; and thus, by many successive stages, protestant nonconformists obtained for their communities the fullest recognition and protection by the state.

2. Encroachments upon Church privileges.—If we were to imagine that dissenters would be satisfied with such results we should be mistaken. Perfect equality of possessions and privileges was and is their further aim. Under the title of the *Anti-State Church Society*, founded in 1844, many opponents of the Church of England have agitated to despoil her of her rightful inheritance; and when it was found that the name of their association was too repellent they changed it to "The Society for the Liberation of Religion from State Patronage and Control," now better known by the abbreviated name of the *Liberation Society*. The principles of its members seem to be akin to the extremest communistic ideas; for their chief motive

is the seizure and distribution of the Church's material possessions, so that she may be prevented from maintaining her ancient and inherited position as the chief religious teacher of the land. With this society none of the cherished heritages of churchmen are sacred, and many of them have already been forfeited to its determined agitations. *E. g.*—in days when nonconformity was unknown, each parish provided for the repair of its church and churchyard by a special rate, which was levied like any other local tax. An attempt was made by parliament in 1833 to abolish church rates, although their payment dated from



THE NEW HOUSES OF PARLIAMENT.

the most ancient times. That attempt failed; but the liberation society agitated, and from time to time caused resolutions against them to be moved in the house of commons. In 1861 a *Church-rate Abolition Bill* obtained an equal number of votes for and against it in the house of commons, and therefore, as is customary, the speaker gave his casting vote against it. Eventually (1868) the compulsory payment of church-rates was abolished, though in certain places they are paid voluntarily. Again, it is well known that the colleges of our universities were founded by churchmen for higher education in the principles of the Church of England. Accordingly, all persons who wished to avail themselves of educational facilities therein were

expected to attend church services regularly; and subscribe Church formularies before they could obtain degrees or fellowships. In 1871 those university tests were abolished. Further, nonconformists had all along been as free to acquire sites for burying grounds as they were to possess buildings for religious worship. But they soon desired to share with churchmen the old churchyards, which had been acquired and consecrated for the interment of those whose profession of Christianity had been sealed by the sacrament of Baptism, and which were as much the exclusive property of the Church of England as any of her fabrics are. The exclusive right and privilege of the Church of England clergy to perform religious services in those churchyards was the envy of liberationists; and they rested not until they succeeded in passing an act (1880) by which nonconformist ministers might perform funeral services in land so consecrated; although their communities had for a long time ceased to take any part in contributing to the repair of churchyards. We know that even this is insufficient to satisfy them, but we must earnestly endeavour to prevent the fulfilment of their ultimate desire to use our churches for nonconformist public worship. They have every liberty to worship God as they please; they have fabrics and possessions in and by which they may do so; we have no desire to interfere with them in the exercise of such liberties or the enjoyment of such possessions; but churchmen must be thoroughly determined to withstand their efforts to enroach further upon the privileges and rights of the national Church.

3. Removal of Romanist disabilities.—We have seen that no relief was allowed to Romanists by the toleration act of 1689; and the chief reason why the test and corporation acts were not repealed sooner was that many nonconformists, who have ever been extremely bitter against the Church of Rome, were anxious to exclude Romanists from participating in the benefits of such repeal. In 1778 a measure of relief was accorded to the Romanists, at the instance of Sir George Saville, who obtained the repeal of an act of 1698 which had allowed the 'protestant' children of Romanists to exclude their parents from inheriting property, and younger children who were 'protestant' to supplant their elder brethren who might be Romanists. About the same time *Chief-Justice Mansfield* put a liberal construction on other penal laws against Romanists, when they were brought before him in the law courts. It may be taken as an illustration of the deep-seated horror of papalism in the nation that those humane measures

were considered by many as dangerous to the country. An ultra-protestant named *Lord George Gordon* drew up a petition to parliament against any concessions to those whom he called "the followers of antichrist," which was very extensively signed. Lord Gordon proceeded with it to the house of lords at the head of a noisy crowd of enthusiasts, who shamefully ill-treated the aged Judge Mansfield and some of the bishops. They afterwards burned some Romanist chapels, and private houses of several known adherents of the papacy, together with the mansion of Lord Mansfield. They then destroyed the prisons, and attempted to attack the Bank of England, where however they were resisted by a strong body of soldiers (A.D. 1780). Here we may remind the reader of the two chief reasons for the perpetually recurring outbreaks of popular fury against Romanism, whereby full liberty and licence were accorded to every petty non-papal conventicle before a Romanist relief bill could become law. There was first the innate dread of any recurrence to the foreign despotism, which had wrought evil to the realm in mediæval times, and brought persecution to churchmen at the time of the reformation; but there was a very natural fear besides that toleration of Romanists would result in the spread of the erroneous doctrines and practices which the council of Trent had declared essential. At the same time it was not sensible to prate about Britain being a land of religious liberty unless Romanists were permitted to share therein. The annual act of indemnity for dissenters contrasted so strangely with the continued exclusion of Romanists from official positions in the State that, in 1817 it was found impossible any longer to exclude Romanists from the army or navy. In 1825 a bill was read a third time in the house of commons which would have repealed all the penal statutes against members of the Church of Rome. It failed to pass the house of lords, and was dropped for a season; but after the test and corporation acts had been repealed, the arguments against the retention of Romanist disabilities would not hold water; and Mr. Peel re-introduced the bill for the emancipation of Romanists from the oppressive laws against them. It passed both houses by large majorities, and became law in April 1829. Thus all *Christians* were set free from every vestige of oppression.

4. The new papal hierarchy.—It will now be seen that Romanists made full use of their freedom. The arguments for their emancipation had gained a host of friends for them, and they proceeded to erect churches with vigour. We shall see in the next chapter that

they waited on the outskirts of an ecclesiastical revival within the Church of England, ready to entice by fair promises of rewards and dignities such as should find themselves too much restrained by her formularies. Having in that way won over to themselves several famous and many rich members of the national Church they floated their deeply planned but long delayed scheme of a *rival episcopate*. On September 30, 1850, a papal bull was published in England which divided our country into certain ecclesiastical divisions or dioceses,



ST. PETER'S CHURCH AND VATICAN PALACE, ROME.

each of which was to be governed for the pope by a bishop, under a so-called "archbishop of Westminster." There had not previously been any Roman bishops in England, save the bishops-*in-partibus* and vicars-apostolic, who had not ventured to assume territorial titles; and this aggression of the pope, by which a number of prelates responsible to none but himself were imposed upon our nation, was a distinct intrenchment upon the prerogatives of the English crown. A storm of indignation rose against the bull. *The Times* enquired:—

“Is it here in Westminster, among ourselves and by the English throne, that an Italian priest is to parcel out the spiritual dominion of this country, to employ the renegades of our national Church to restore foreign usurpation over the consciences of men, and to sow division in our political society by an undisguised and systematic hostility to the institutions most nearly identified with our national freedom and our national faith?” So great was the public opposition that an *Ecclesiastical Titles Act* was passed to declare the bull null and void, and impose a fine of £100 on all who should try to carry it out. The nation was then somewhat quieted, but Romanists were sufficiently influential to render the act a dead letter. It was repealed in 1871.

That there is very little hope of the Church of Rome forsaking its errors on matters of faith may be judged from the fact that in December 1869 a great council was held at the *Vatican*, where the pope holds his court; which not only re-affirmed all the erroneous tenets of the council of Trent, but formulated also other and more pernicious dogmas as matters of essential belief: notably, that it is impossible for the bishop of Rome to do wrong when acting officially, generally called the doctrine of *Papal Infallibility*; and that the Blessed Virgin Mary was conceived by her mother without human sin, which is known as the doctrine of the *Immaculate Conception*. Neither of these novel dogmas have the slightest warrant in Scripture, nor can they be proved by the practice of the primitive Church or the writings of the early Christian fathers; and the attempt to formulate them now as doctrines of the universal Church because, forsooth, the prelates of the new papal hierarchy in England, and the bishops-*in-partibus* who upheld papal pretensions in other parts of the world, gave an appearance of ‘universality’ to that Vatican council by their presence, is a daring violation of history and reason such as cannot be paralleled outside the Roman obedience. The most recent phases of Rome’s modern aggression have been the reception of a papal *nuncio* in Ireland, with a consequent interference by the bishop of Rome in Irish politics; and the unblushing abuse of the pulpit on the part of Romish bishops in England to promote a revival of temporal power for the papacy, in Italy to begin with.

5. Removal of Jewish disabilities.—In the year 1290 Edward I. expelled the Jews from England. Public opinion at that time was greatly stirred against them because of their usury, and because of a curious antipathy to them as a religious community

owing to their ancestors' crime on Calvary. From that time, and until the days of Oliver Cromwell, the Jews were only admitted into England upon sufferance; certainly they were not allowed the public exercise of their belief. During and since the commonwealth they were included in the same category as nonconformist sects, but were precluded from all public offices because of their inability to take any kind of Christian oath. In the struggle for religious liberty not only did no one care for them, but by common consent their cause was studiously omitted from every statute introduced to parliament for the relief of nonconformists. In the first parliament that met after the 1831 reform bill became law, a Jewish relief bill was introduced to the commons and read three times, but on being sent to the house of lords it was thrown out. That same year (1833) an act was passed by which quakers and others were allowed to substitute an affirmation "on the true faith of a Christian" for the oath of allegiance; but very few were prepared to admit Jews into the legislature of a Christian land. In November 1847 *Baron Rothschild* was elected by the city of London, where his high character, beneficence, and honourable dealing had won for him much fame. The majority of the members of the house of commons were willing that he should sit among them and re-introduced the Jewish relief bill, but the house of lords again rejected it by 163 votes to 128. Nothing daunted, Baron Rothschild went again to his constituents and was re-elected; though of course he could not sit under the existing law. At the general election of 1852 he was returned for the third time; and once more a relief bill passed the commons, but failed to find a favourable majority in the house of lords. The bishops were naturally against it. Indeed, it is hardly possible to conceive how they could be otherwise, for they were representatives of an estate of the realm whose object, from time immemorial, had been to uphold the Christian character of our nation and its laws. In April 1857 there was another general election; and, as soon as the excitement and extra parliamentary business that followed the Indian mutiny had subsided, the Jewish relief bill was once more brought before parliament. It empowered either house to modify its oath in the case of Jews by special resolution. This time the house of lords accepted the measure by 143 votes to 97. Public offices were thus opened to all persons who believe in a supreme Being. About the same time the government of India was transferred from the East-India company to the English crown.

6. The Irish Church.—On page 446 we briefly reviewed the progress of events connected with the Anglican Church in Ireland up to the reign of James II. As briefly we must glance at its subsequent history. After the victories of William III. over the forces which sought to restore James II. Romanists were forbidden to sit in the Irish parliament; and many repressive laws were passed against them during the reigns of William III. and Queen Anne. In 1704 the test acts were extended to Ireland, and in 1713 the schism act (see page 478) was put in force there. William III. had restored the Anglican clergy to the Irish benefices, whence they had been excluded by the Romanists under *Tyrconnel's* rule; but the mischief of this was that the English government made use of the clergy, or at any rate of the bishops, in Ireland to anglicise that country and repress all native interests. In 1719 the English parliament undertook to legislate for Ireland; and when it was found that the Romanist electorate predominated, the "Irishry" were not allowed to vote. Clergy were permitted to hold any number of benefices in plurality, owing to the loss of glebe land through the political disturbances. The churches fell into decay and the parsonages went to ruin. It was hardly likely that the natives would care much to belong to a Church which they identified with repressive legislation. In 1779 dissenters were admitted to civil offices in Ireland, but there was no relief for Romanists. In 1782



ARMAGH CATHEDRAL CHOIR.

a long agitation resulted in Irishmen regaining their parliamentary independence, but the land continued subject to the English crown. The following year bills for the relief of Romanists were passed in the Irish parliament, and the franchise was restored to them. But soon after an association of malcontents, called the *United Irishmen*, entered into treasonable correspondence with France; and stirred up rebellion against the English rule (1794). It was then that the ultra-protestants in Ireland formed themselves into *Orange Lodges* as a counter movement to that of the united Irishmen. The rebellion broke out in 1798, and was not suppressed without much cruelty; the result being that Ireland and Ireland's Church were united to England and England's Church by the "act of Union" in 1800. In 1831 parliament voted £30,000 towards elementary education in Ireland; but owing to the religious rivalry and bitterness that money was restricted to 'undenominational schools.' The opposition to the Anglican Church in Ireland soon became very great. The tithes were unpaid, and the clergy were starving; and therefore many people welcomed the "Irish Church temporalities act" of 1833, by which ten of the ancient bishoprics were suppressed and £1,000,000 voted to the clergy towards compensation for their arrears of tithe. There used to be four Irish archbishops and twenty-seven bishops; now there are only two archbishops (*Armagh* and *Dublin*) and eleven bishops. The sees were not altogether suppressed, but united with others; and most of the present Irish bishops bear the title of two or three ancient bishoprics in their official names. Shortly afterwards a formidable agitation was directed against the Church in Ireland, and in 1856 an act was introduced to the house of commons to disestablish it. The bill was rejected by 163 to 93. The agitation was continued with vigour and was made a party political question in 1868 by Mr. Gladstone, then prime minister; who in March 1869, brought in a new bill to disestablish and disendow the Church in Ireland as a government measure; in spite of the fact that its maintenance had been guaranteed by the *Act of Union*, and that its title to property was more ancient than any other species of property in Ireland. We need not stay to explain the steps by which that measure passed through its various stages; it is sufficient to say that it became law, and that its provisions came into force on and after January 1, 1871. The surplus funds of the Irish Church, after the vested interests of incumbents were provided for,

have since been applied to the support of hospitals and lunatic asylums, the commutation of grants to Irish nonconformists (see page 501), the permanent endowment of a large Romanist college at Maynooth which had been receiving an annual government grant since 1145, and other charitable objects needing funds from time to time. Liberationists are anxious to make the disestablishment of the Irish Church a precedent for similar measures respecting the English Church; notwithstanding that the circumstances of the two countries are vastly different. Modern agitations for the disunion of England and Ireland are closely connected with the disunion of the Churches, and provide an obvious warning for Englishmen to avoid meddling with the status and possessions of their own national Church.

7. Removal of atheist disabilities.—As one by one the various religious bodies (dissenters, Romanists, and Jews) were admitted to privileges of which the misdeeds of their ancestors had deprived them, but of which their own tried loyalty proved them to be not unworthy, the Church of England submitted with good grace; though she had felt it to be her bounden duty to resist and warn until there was sufficient assurance that her own rights and the honour of the realm would be preserved. Of the nonconformists it could be shown that they were professing Christians after all; and of the Jews there could be no doubt that they were fervent and traditional worshippers of Jehovah, though they declined to recognise the Messiahship of Jesus. The religious character of the nation need not be endangered by their admission to the fullest civil privileges or the widest religious liberty; though the rights of the national Church might be encroached upon. It was otherwise when avowed atheists, or deniers of God's existence, sought to tread in their steps. It was indeed well known that some of those who outwardly conformed to the conditions of membership in the house of commons were unbelievers at heart, but still it was something that parliament should possess "the form of godliness." But in 1880 Mr. Charles Bradlaugh, an avowed atheist, was elected to the house of commons; and a new set of disabilities had to be removed. To his credit we must record that he preferred not to sail in under false colours; and to the credit of parliament we must remember that it at first refused to allow him to take his seat. Having been declared disqualified for membership the seat for which he was returned was declared vacant;

but his constituents returned him again and again. In 1882 Mr. Bradlaugh unwisely took the law into his own hands by going through the farce of administering the oath of allegiance to himself; although he had previously declared the words "So help me, God," to be meaningless to him. An oath is a religious act by which God is called to witness for the confirmation of some matter of doubt. It is an appeal of two parties to Almighty God by which He is called to witness the act about to be performed. Not only cannot a professed atheist, therefore, take an oath, which is an appeal to a Being in whose existence and attributes he does not believe; but to administer it to him is an insult and mockery to Him who is invoked by the oath, and to Whom it is an appeal. The house of commons voted Mr. Bradlaugh's expulsion from the precincts of the house, but subsequently allowed him the run of the private rooms and access to the legislative chamber below the bar. He was precluded from voting under heavy penalties, yet he had obtained a vantage ground from which he could influence the members and create a reversion of feeling among them in his favour. Ultimately (1885) a short act was passed by which, instead of the customary oath, a member could qualify for his seat by making this affirmation:—

"'I A. B. do solemnly, sincerely, and truly declare and affirm,' and then proceed with the words of the oath prescribed by law, omitting any words of imprecation or calling to witness" (Clause 2 of the *Affirmation Act*, 1885).

Under the powers of that act Mr. Bradlaugh was enabled to take his seat; and afterwards showed himself very anxious to get rid of oaths of every kind. In 1888 he introduced a bill to the house of commons to abolish oaths in parliament, courts of law, and all other places "for all purposes where an oath has hitherto been required by law, and to substitute a solemn affirmation, whenever any person should object to be sworn on the ground that he has no religious belief, or that the taking of an oath is contrary to his religious belief." After the addition of an amendment which provided for the validity of oaths when taken, and their continuance wherever they would be conscientiously binding, this act was read a third time in the house of commons, August 9, 1888, by 147 votes to 60. It passed the house of lords a few months later, so that nothing now remains upon our statute-book in any way disabling persons from enjoying the fullest licence to do as they please in matters that affect their religious or non-religious opinions.

8. The ecclesiastical commission.—As the various religious bodies obtained more and more liberty, they proceeded to use it in attacking the Church of England. They claimed that the recognition and protection of themselves by the state, made the Church no longer co-extensive in theory with the whole nation, and clamoured to be exempt from contributing to her support. In other words, every increase of privileges for nonconformists was held to imply a corresponding decrease of privileges in the national Church. They sought to benefit themselves at her expense. Yet although the functions of convocation were suspended, so that the Church could not offer any united and formal protest against such insidious attacks, there has still been a strong sense of justice pervading the majority of our civil legislators; through which her external foundations have been preserved thus far. Parliament has never yet legislated upon spiritual questions without reference to the clergy, and the measures which have encroached upon the temporalities of the Church in any way, have not seriously affected her position. At the time of the reform bill agitation, wild statements were circulated as to the wealth of the Church, and in 1831 a royal commission was appointed to inquire into its possessions. Churchmen were needlessly frightened at the prospect in view, for although the commissioners proposed drastic changes in their several reports as to the redistribution of clerical incomes, nothing but advantage has resulted to the Church from their labours. Dr. William Howley was primate at that time. The government did not desire to alienate Church property, either in England or Ireland, from strictly ecclesiastical purposes; but it was clear that anomalies in the then existing distribution of ecclesiastical revenues needed re-adjustment. In days when the proportion of bishops to clergy and people was much greater than in modern times, the relative incomes were not



ARCHBISHOP HOWLEY.

seriously unequal ; but while the dissolution of monasteries had permanently impoverished the parish clergy, of whom many more were absolutely necessary, the retention of capitular estates by the cathedral bodies through all changes made the revenues of dignitaries seem excessively disproportionate to those of many parochial incumbents. In 1836 the ecclesiastical commissioners were incorporated as a permanent body to deal with the capitular estates, and after setting aside sufficient for the payment of specified incomes to the bishops and cathedral staffs, and providing suitable residences for them, to apply the residue to the augmentation of poor livings, and the endowment of new ones in populous places. Still more salutary was the recommendation of the commissioners that no benefice was thereafter to be held *in commendam*. The chief sources of ecclesiastical revenues were the tithes of the produce of land (see p. 315). From early times they had been paid in kind, and tithe barns are still standing which were erected for storing the produce. That custom gave rise to many harassing disputes between tithe owners and tithe payers ; and to set such disputes at rest an act was passed in 1836 (6 & 7 Wm. IV., c. 71) by which tithes in kind were commuted into a *tithe rent-charge* payable in money on January 1 and July 1 in each year. The amount of the rent-charge in any year was to be fixed according to the average price of corn during the seven previous years. That measure was passed chiefly in the interests of the tithe payers, and it is estimated that the Church lost a considerable portion of its revenues by the change ; but the loss has been more than compensated by the comparative cessation of disputes. They have lately been revived by liberationist agitators, but the innate sense of justice which pre-eminently distinguishes Englishmen resented the new phase of communism that lay at the root of such hostility.

9. Disestablishment.—The first serious attack upon the time-honoured connexion between the Church and realm of England occurred at the time of the 1831 reform bill. The bishops had exercised their legislative functions by voting according to their consciences against the bill, and the exasperated promoters of it menaced them with popular opprobrium for so doing, and charged them to “set their houses in order.” There was no mistaking the significance of that outcry. “The bishops were threatened to be driven from their stations because they did not vote for ministers ; because for once they had thus voted upon the greatest question agitated since the

revolution" (Speech of Bishop Philpotts). In 1834 a member actually introduced a bill to suspend the legislative and judicial functions of the lords spiritual; but that unjust attack upon the rights of the foremost estate of the realm was rejected by 125 votes to 28. In 1851 "a judiciously manipulated religious census" gave an apparent though grossly inaccurate numerical superiority over churchmen by the aggregate combination of all nonconformists. The liberation society then redoubled its attacks upon the national Church. Its methods were peculiar. The most outrageous misconceptions of the Church's history and position were unblushingly reiterated and published broadcast; and every little imperfection in her administration, or in the character of her clergy, was magnified to enormous dimensions. It was needful that something should be done to counteract such misrepresentations. Accordingly, in 1860 a new organisation, known as the *Church Defence Institution*, was formed "to combine, as far as possible, churchmen of every shade of political and religious opinion in the maintenance and support of the established Church, and its rights and privileges in relation to the state—particularly as regards all questions affecting its welfare likely to become the subject of legislative action; and generally to encourage the co-operation of clergy and laity, in their several districts, for the promotion of measures conducive to the welfare of the Church." Owing to its continued vigilance and enterprise the external enemies of the Church were kept well in check for thirty-five years. The disestablishment and disendowment of the Irish Church gave a fresh impulse to liberationists in England, and in 1871 a motion for dealing with the English Church in similar fashion was brought into the house of commons. It was rejected by 374 votes to 89, a majority of 285. Undaunted by defeat the motion was re-introduced in 1872, but the minority who supported it had dwindled down to 61, while the majority against it had increased to 295. As the citadel was too strong to be brought low, its enemies changed their tactics. It occurred to them that Wales was once a separate nation, and then had an independent Church; so they proceeded to agitate for dealing with religious affairs in Wales apart from England, although the nations and Churches had been one and indivisible for centuries. Church defenders therefore took the field, and by means of simple historical lectures and literature completely demonstrated the injustice of such a measure. In 1892 the subject was made a leading party

question in the house of commons, and in return for Welsh votes on behalf of "home rule" in Ireland, the radical party agreed as a body to attempt the dismemberment and disendowment of the Church of England and Wales. The result was significant. The literature and illustrated lectures of the Church Defence Institution effectually aroused public indignation; and gave rise to a deluge of petitions from nearly every parish, more numerous than any previous petitions to parliament had been. Those petitions were followed by a great demonstration in the Albert Hall, London (May 16, 1893). When the disestablishment party next appealed to the country, electors expressed their outraged feelings still more emphatically by returning in a great majority the candidates who were pledged to maintain the privileges and possessions of the national Church. The Church Defence Institution has since been merged into a new body called the *Church Committee for Church Defence and Church Instruction* (1896), and churchmen hope that it will do the work as well and wisely as the older society did.

10. Lawsuits respecting doctrine and ritual.—As it forms no part of the object of this book to discuss matters of doctrine we may briefly pass over party strifes within the Church, which have engendered unseemly lawsuits, by enumerating their chief results. *The Tractarian movement*, to which we shall refer in our next chapter, had led many to desire and institute a more ornate ceremonial and symbolism in public worship than their immediate forefathers cared about, or even dreamed of; and many earnest-minded men were so scandalised by the so-called "innovations" that they determined to go to law against their brethren, "and test the legality of such proceedings." Had convocation been able to act it is possible that such extreme measures might have been avoided, but a few aggrieved persons commenced them, and there has been a constant recurrence of actions at law ever since. The first case of the kind occurred in 1853-56, when legal proceedings were taken against *Archdeacon Denison*, on account of his published statements respecting the mode of the presence of Christ in the eucharist. In the event, Archdeacon Denison was sentenced to be deprived of his benefices; but the long discussion of the case compelled a more perfect study of the Church's sacramental doctrines. Following his case was that of *Westerton v. Liddell* respecting alleged ritual at St. Paul's, Knightsbridge, and St. Barnabas, Pimlico. It was taken first to the consistory

court of London, and decided against Mr. Liddell, who appealed to the Arches court but without success. He then appealed to the queen in council, and obtained a more favourable decision; the result of which was that ritualism was greatly encouraged. The expenses connected with those lawsuits were very great. It was known that the prosecutors in each case had been backed up by a so-called evangelical alliance; and therefore, in 1859, what we now call *The English Church Union* was founded, "mainly to defend and maintain unimpaired the doctrine, discipline, and ritual of the Church of England against Erastianism, rationalism and puritanism; and to afford counsel and protection to all persons, lay or clerical, suffering unjust aggression or hindrance in spiritual matters" (*E.C.U. Directory*).



THE NEW LAW COURTS, LONDON.

The E.C.U. was at first called "The Church Protection Society." Arch-deacon Denison was one of its promoters. Extreme evangelicals met the new organisation by founding the *Church Association*, A.D. 1865, in order "to counteract the efforts now being made to pervert the teaching of the Church of England on essential points of the Christian faith, or assimilate her services to those of the Church of Rome; and to effect these objects by publicity through lectures, meetings, and the use of the press; by appeals to the courts of law to ascertain what the law is, and by appeals to parliament" (*C. A. Tracts*, 1888). In other words, two societies were started, one to resist and the other to promote interference of the civil law in purely ecclesiastical affairs,

The prosecutions were promoted by the Church Association, and the E.C.U. defended the ritual practices which their opponents considered illegal. The excitement was then intense throughout the land, and mob riots against the surplice were frequent. In 1867, but without reference to convocation, a bill was introduced to the house of lords by the earl of Shaftesbury, "to regulate the worship of the Church of England." That was a distinct violation of Church privileges, but happily the bill was negatived. A royal commission consisting of fourteen clergy and fifteen laymen was then appointed at the suggestion of Mr. Gladstone to consider the rubrics and their proper interpretation. It made several reports, two of which suggested speedy and inexpensive remedies for such parishioners as were aggrieved by ritual innovations. Several ritual prosecutions had been in progress during the deliberations of the ritual commission. In 1867-68 the Revs. Mackonochie and Simpson were prosecuted in the provincial court of Arches, under the *Church Discipline Act* (which had been passed in 1840 to facilitate the hearing of complaints against the clergy) and Sir R. Phillimore delivered judgment in their favour. The promoters of the suits appealed to the judicial committee of the privy council, and obtained a reversal of the judgment. But the decision of that committee on a matter involving doctrine and ritual was not thought binding by the clergy most concerned, and the practices continued. In 1869 the celebrated Purchas case was before the Arches court; and the learned judge decided that the judgment of the queen in council *in re Westerton v. Liddell* held good, and that the ornaments of the churches and vestments of the clergy mentioned in the first Prayer-book of Edward VI. were allowable. This judgment also was brought before the judicial committee of the privy council on appeal and reversed; but, as before, the decisions of the latter court were openly disregarded. In 1874, and in the teeth of a protest made in the lower house of Canterbury convocation, the *Public Worship Regulation Act* was passed by Mr. Disraeli's party, which made a layman the official principal of a new "arches" court instead of the judges who had hitherto been appointed by the archbishops of Canterbury and York for their provincial courts of arches. After that act was passed (March 1, 1875) the bishops issued a joint pastoral against "the refusal to obey legitimate authority" and "the dissemination of doctrines and encouragement of practices repugnant to the teaching of holy writ and to the principles of the Church as

derived from apostolic times, and as authoritatively set forth at the reformation." In 1875-76 the new court had before it the case of *Clifton v. Ridsdale*, in which the new judge decided against the defendant clergyman. On the latter's appeal to the final court some modifications were made in the decrees of the court of arches, but by no means to the satisfaction of ritualists. There has ever since been a bitter antagonism on their part against lay interference in clerical offences, and it is well known that several clergymen have preferred to go to prison rather than admit the jurisdiction of the new court. The reports of the royal commission referred to on the previous page, which were intended to meet the difficulties felt in reference to ecclesiastical suits, have not found favour with either class of disputants; nor have they yet been made the subject of further legislation.

11. Revival of convocation.—Before the strictly ritual prosecutions were commenced, difficulties had arisen in connexion with the sacrament of holy Baptism. In 1849 the Rev. G. C. Gorham was refused institution to a benefice by Dr. Philpotts, bishop of Exeter, on the ground that he held unorthodox opinions respecting the doctrine of baptismal regeneration. The clergyman proceeded against the bishop in the old court of arches, but lost his cause. He then appealed to her majesty in council, where a number of lay judges decided in his favour, after consultation with several prelates who were members of the privy council. Mr. Gorham was instituted, but the bishop protested against the decision, and wished to utilise convocation as the true court of appeal. Failing in that he called a synod of the clergy of his own diocese (1851); and the discussions that ensued therein not only made the doctrine of the Church of England more clear, but proved the necessity and advantage of reviving the synodical action of the Church. A movement for its revival had been on foot for some time. After the general election of 1847, when convocation had, as usual, been elected, the lower house of the Canterbury province took the very unusual step of discussing amendments to the loyal address in reply to the queen's message by which it had been called together. That ended in a petition to her majesty that the advice of the Church's ancient synod should be sought and taken by the crown. All other religious bodies were allowed to have their deliberative assemblies; and in the midst of a general freedom the Church of England alone was unable to make its voice heard. A "society for the revival of convocation" was next started (1850), which made it its business to explain

throughout the country, by public meetings and pamphlets, the historical right of the Church to its representative synodical action. There was an important debate in the house of lords in 1851, which greatly advanced the cause; and at last it was found that, although convocation had only been a name for over 130 years, there was really no legal hindrance to its discussion of any ecclesiastical question; although it could not issue any new canons or constitutions without the concurrence of the civil legislature and the assent of the crown. The general election of 1852 was of course accompanied by a general election of proctors for convocation, and those who were chosen to represent the province of Canterbury met in St. Paul's cathedral, November 5, 1852. One of their earliest acts was to make a formal protest against the new papal hierarchy, in which they placed on record the historical position of England's Church, by designating the new departure as "That fresh aggression of the bishop of Rome, by which he has arrogated to himself the spiritual charge of this nation, thereby denying the existence of that branch of the primitive Church which was planted in Britain in the primitive ages of Christianity, and has been preserved by a merciful Providence unto this day." Although it took convocation some little time to find its way along forgotten paths and resume its natural voice, the history of convocation since its revival will furnish material for much encouragement to Churchmen. Our limited space forbids us to enumerate or discuss much that it has done; but one or two of its most important struggles on behalf of Church doctrine and discipline may be mentioned. In 1860 a remarkable collection of articles were published under the title of *Essays and Reviews*, most of which were written by clergy; and all of which dealt with some point of Christian belief. They attracted a great amount of attention, and petitions were showered upon convocation against their tone and character. Over 8000 clergy signed a protest against the essays, and convocation formally condemned them (A.D. 1864). About the same time Dr. Colenso, bishop of Natal, had thrown doubt upon portions of holy Scripture in books which he had written, for which he had been condemned by the episcopal synod of South Africa and deprived of his bishopric. Convocation warmly thanked the South-African synod for the noble stand that it had made (English bishops and proctors of convocation had censured the writings long before); and when Dr. Colenso persisted in claiming to exercise the episcopal office, he was excommunicated by the synod of Cape Town, and the English convocation upheld the decision of that synod.

It would not be right to pass over without mention the further development of the Church's united action outside of convocation. In 1861 a valuable movement was set on foot at Cambridge by which clergy and laity might meet together to discuss Church matters publicly and freely. It was called a *Church Congress*; and the attempt was so successful that it has been repeated every year until now, and has assumed remarkable proportions. The chief originator of these annual gatherings was Archdeacon Emery, who has ever since taken a foremost part in all movements for uniting the clergy and laity. In 1863 he suggested to convocation that each diocese should hold an annual synod or conference, representative of clergy and laity. The first synod of this character was held in the diocese of Ely (A.D. 1864); and now the general acceptance of *Diocesan conferences* is on all hands acknowledged to have been a most valuable help to the formation of Church opinion. The latest development of the modern movement to revive the ancient practice of admitting the faithful laity to a share in the deliberations of the Church of England is to be found in the *Houses of Laymen*; which came into being by resolution of both convocations, July 1885, and held their first sessions in 1886. They meet during the time that the convocations are sitting; are convened by the primates only; and act as consultative bodies to aid the clergy in their convocations on all subjects save the definition or interpretation of the faith and doctrine of the Church. Much good has already resulted to the Church of England from this notable addition to her councillors. Another permanent modern institution is *The Church House* in Westminster, founded in 1887 (the 'Jubilee year' of Queen Victoria) as a memorial of the progress made in Church work during her beneficent reign. It is now the meeting place of the Canterbury convocation and its house of laymen. It also affords office accommodation for many auxiliary agencies and recognised Church societies; such as the justly popular *Waifs and Strays' Society*. It has also a useful library, and a large public hall where many important Church meetings are constantly being held, and its founders wish it to be known as "the business house of the Church of England." As a further recognition of blessings bestowed upon Church work in the Victorian era it was arranged, as part of the national thanksgiving for the completion of her Majesty's *sixtieth* year of rule (1897), that a fund then lately started for improving the incomes of ill-paid incumbents should be called the *Queen Victoria Clergy Sustentation Fund*.

CHAPTER XXIX. (A.D. 1811-1888)

MODERN CHURCH WORK

“The time

Is conscious of her want; through England's bounds

In rival haste, the wished-for Temples rise!

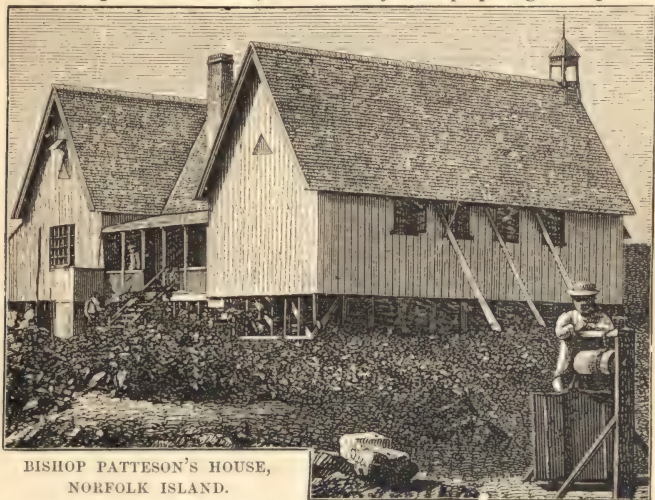
I hear their Sabbath bells' harmonious chimes

Float on the breeze—the heavenliest of all sounds

That hill or vale prolongs or multiplies.”

1. Pioneer missionaries.—The Church of England has led the van in missionary endeavour all through the nineteenth century, and it is impossible within our limited space to do more than hint at what is now being done. We have referred (pages 468 and 500) to the beginnings of our two largest missionary societies, and in the concluding chapter we shall deal with the growth of the missionary episcopate. We now remind readers that the life of an evangelist to the heathen is often one of hardship, suffering, and premature death. Two instances of self-sacrifice in the mission field will serve as examples. In 1841 *George Selwyn* was consecrated to be the first bishop of New Zealand. Just before he left England to organise Church work in that distant country he preached at New-Windsor on the blessedness of missionary work. His sermon made a great impression on a young Eton boy, *John Coleridge Patteson*, who then began to desire such a life of earnest devotion in the cause of Christ. When Bishop Selwyn came back for money and men in 1854 that Eton boy had become a clergyman; and the next year he accompanied the bishop to the far-off islands of the Pacific, and worked among the native races in Melanesia; visiting the islands in a little ship called *The Southern Cross*. In 1861 he was consecrated to be bishop over the missions he had helped to found, and for ten years he worked with such noble devotion that “his praise was in all the churches.” Our illustration shows his Melanesian home. But trade in native labour for the Queensland plantations created distrust of white men among the inhabitants of one of the islands, and as the ‘Southern Cross’ was the first vessel to call there after a party of traders had kidnapped five of the islanders, the tribe took their revenge by murdering Bishop Patteson as soon as he had landed, and mortally wounded two of his companions. The natives wrapped Bishop Patteson’s body in a mat, into the folds of which they thrust a palm branch with five knots tied in it, to signify that the deed was an avengement of their five stolen friends. They then put the body in a canoe and let it drift out to sea, whence it was picked up by the

ship's boat. In Australia and England the tidings of his death were received with an emotion that is rarely witnessed. The Queen's speech at the opening of parliament in 1872 alluded to "the tragic end of so noble a life." The S.P.G. raised worthy memorials to his life and death by building a church on Norfolk island, and a new mission ship. Bishop Patteson left behind him 250 converts ; but in 1898 there were 12,000 baptised Christians, and as many more preparing for baptism.



BISHOP PATTESON'S HOUSE,
NORFOLK ISLAND.

Our second example of a modern bishop whose life was sacrificed to the ignorance of barbarians, is that of *James Hannington*, who went to eastern equatorial Africa under the auspices of the C.M.S. in 1882 ; and was consecrated bishop at the instance of that society in 1885. In October of that year he made an attempt to open up a short route to Uganda (where a mission station had been planted on the invitation of the explorer, Mr. Stanley), but when his caravan reached territory governed by Mwanga, king of Uganda, he was seized by natives and detained until the king's permission for further progress had been received. Instead of giving that permission, Mwanga ordered that the travellers should be killed, and Bishop Hannington was accordingly speared to death. Three of his companions escaped. Bishop Hannington's last words were :

—"Tell the king I am about to die for the Baganda, and have purchased the road to them with my life." Bishop Hannington's episcopate was too short for great achievements, but the way he opened up, and the mission stations since planted on the route, complete a circle of Christian outposts in Central-Africa, which we hope may hereafter subdue its savage inhabitants to the peace of God. The subsequent story of successful mission work in Uganda is simply marvellous. Within two years Mwanga was baptised, and in 1896 there were over 7000 baptised converts, and nearly 60,000 natives receiving instruction from 700 teachers. Two hundred and eighty-four churches had been built, and the Lord is adding to those numbers daily. It should be remembered that the above examples are only selections from a great number of modern missionary dangers and successes.

2. The Oxford movement.—One of the early colonial bishops was Reginald Heber, who became second bishop of Calcutta in 1823. Before then he had been rector of Hodnet, in Shropshire. He is, however, best known as a great Christian poet, and there is this difference between his writings and those of the eighteenth century poets: that whereas they entirely ignored the systematic grouping of Christian doctrines which the Church provides in the orderly arrangement of seasons of fasting and rejoicing; he followed in the steps of George Herbert by showing that there is real beauty and harmony in the course laid out for us by the early Christian fathers. Who that rightly sings his grand hymn for St. Stephen's day:—

"The Son of God goes forth to war"

can help being moved to do something for the cause of our Redeemer? And when we chant his Epiphany carol:—

"Brightest and best of the sons of the morning,"

how can we help being awed at the wondrous condescension of the Lord of Glory? Again, are not our hearts filled with adoring love when at holy Communion we sing:—

"Bread of the world in mercy broken"?

And who can estimate the good that has been done for the heathen, or count the myriads who have been led to think of them, by his simple strains first sung in Wrexham church:—

"From Greenland's icy mountains"?

It is known that the publication of Reginald Heber's hymns led *John Keble* to write *The Christian Year*; than which, perhaps, no book has

done more to make men and women love the English liturgy and to see that, by the wisdom of our Christian fathers :—

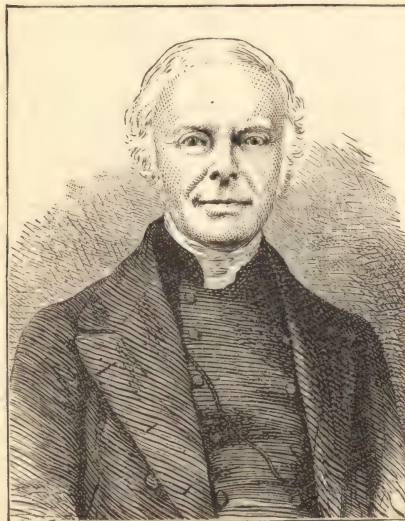
“The way before us lies
Distinct with signs—through which, in fixed career
As through a Zodiac, moves the ritual year
Of England’s Church.”

From the time *The Christian Year* was published (A.D. 1827) we are able to trace a gradual return to reverence for ecclesiastical order and the customs of the primitive Church which, since the commonwealth, had fallen into decay. Mr. Keble was in the forefront of that new revival, and from his position as professor of poetry, he was an accepted leader of a goodly band of fellows and students in the university of Oxford who believed in the necessity of impressing on people that the Church was more than a merely human institution ; that it had privileges, sacraments, and a ministry ordained by Christ ; that it was a matter of the highest obligation, not only to remain united to the Church, but also to use her formularies loyally. There were grave reasons why that “Association of Friends of the Church” was greatly needed. The repeal of the test acts (1828), by which other than communicant members of the national Church were eligible for state offices ; and the removal of Romanist disabilities (1829) ; together with the inquiries made (at the instance of the parliament returned on the 1831 reform bill) respecting the unequal distribution of Church property, that led to the formation of the ecclesiastical commission (1836) ; made churchmen anxious for such privileges as were left to them : especially the liturgy, which was being



BISHOP REGINALD HEBER.

attacked by the Church's own children with a view to drastic changes. The leaders of the Oxford movement drew up memorials, which were signed by thousands of clergy and hundreds of thousands of heads of families, to the primate and the king, so that the country was able to see how much our formularies were loved. The actual originator of the movement was Hugh James Rose, and the centre of it was at *Oriel-college*, to which, from all parts of the country, churchmen went to inquire as of an oracle. The Oxford friends tried to stimulate the good feeling thus aroused by the circulation of cheap literature on Church matters, called *Tracts for the Times*; which occasionally defeated the ends aimed at by their sudden boldness. The country was startled by that recall to principles which had been neglected for 200 years, and endeavoured to silence the "tractarians" by condemning some of their writings and pulpit utterances. Certain leaders were suspended, but the movement went on. This is not the place, even if there were room, to discuss the *pros* and *cons* of the Oxford teaching. As has been the case all through these pages, opinions



REV. JOHN KEBLE.

are only mentioned to show the lasting effects they produced. The good commenced by such men as H. J. Rose, W. F. Percival, Edward Pusey, William Palmer, Isaac Williams, and John Keble, has been felt chiefly in the greater attention since paid by all schools of thought to fundamentals of faith and practice; but it is right to state that several of their companions were led to seek a more congenial sphere, beyond the border lines of our Church. Among them may be mentioned Edward Manning, and John Henry Newman, who seceded to



REV. E. B. PUSEY.

the Church of Rome in 1845, and were afterwards made cardinals. Their example induced a great many ladies and gentlemen to take a similar step. While the secessions were going on Romanists were in great delight, and fondly hoped that England would soon be brought into obedience to the papacy. Many Englishmen on the other hand expected that the secessions would put an end to the Oxford movement. Neither hope was realized. Mr. Keble, Dr. Pusey, and other leaders proved their honest intent by strict fidelity to the Church of their fathers; and lived to gain respect even from some of their opponents. And there can be no doubt that the movement they fostered compelled greater reverence for apostolic doctrine and fellowship, and did more than anything else to bring the Church of England into its present high state of efficiency. Between the tractarians and the evangelical party were a number of more moderate men, of whom *Bishop Wordsworth* of Lincoln and *Dean Hook* of Chichester were worthy examples. There were also a few men whose sympathies went beyond the confines of Anglicanism, but who openly denounced the Oxford movement. Among them were Professor Maurice, Dean Stanley and Canon Kingsley. They are generally known as 'broad-churchmen.' Kingsley is also to be remembered as a successful novelist and poet. His grave at Eversley (see next page) is still visited by numerous admirers.

3. Origin of Sunday-schools.—Although their foundation dates from the middle of the Georgian era, we have refrained from mentioning the good work done by *Sunday-schools* until now, because their continuance and development occupies a foremost place in "modern Church work." They came into general notice about 1781, chiefly through the combined instrumentality of Mr. Raikes, a worthy citizen of Gloucester, and Mr. Stock, one of the clergy of that city. They met with opposition at first; and it must be admitted that, if proper advantage had been taken of the Church's provision for catechising the young, Sunday-schools would have been less needed;

but the apathy and neglect which overspread Church work during the eighteenth century was felt by the children most of all. But when the nineteenth century dawned Sunday-schools became acknowledged as an indispensable adjunct of Church work, with cordial approval from the S.P.C.K. At the present time it would be impossible to calculate the good that they are doing. At the beginning of 1897 there were 206,659 teachers in Church of England Sunday-schools; and the scholars of all ages under their care numbered no less than 2,393,372. It should be remembered that many clergy prefer the old catechetical system, indicated by the rubrics which precede the catechism in our Prayer-book, and little ones so instructed are not always included in "Sunday-school" returns. It is surely not too much to say that the instruction these myriads of children receive in the elements of



KINGSLEY'S GRAVE (*see page 529*).

Christian belief does immense good to the country at large, although few Sunday-school teachers have had any special training for their office.

4. The National Society.—Still more important is the work done by the elementary day-schools of the Church. Reference was made on pages 467–8 to the charity schools which the S.P.C.K. had organised at the beginning of the eighteenth century; but after 100 years of useful work in that direction, it was felt that primary education of the young, on a sound religious basis, demanded that a separate society should be formed to take in hand the organisation of parochial church schools. Up to that time the government had not felt any responsibility touching the instruction of youth;

and in spite of what the S.P.C.K. had done, together with the private adventures of individuals, nearly two-thirds of the children of poor parents were left without the merest rudiments of English knowledge, save that which was imparted here and there by incompetent dames. However, in 1811, the "National Society for promoting the education of the poor in the principles of the established Church" was founded; and soon extended its influence over the whole kingdom. Since it was founded no one has been able to say with truth that churchmen have neglected the elementary education of poor people's children. Until the reign of William IV. voluntary beneficence was the only means by which instruction could be imparted to the children of the poor; and even then what the state did was infinitesimal. In 1833 the house of commons was persuaded to set aside £20,000 a year for elementary education in England. In 1839 a committee of council was appointed to deal specially with the question, and administer the government grants; and from that time the subsidies rapidly increased. The Church was then educating eleven children out of every twelve receiving instruction, and successfully resisted a mean attempt on the part of the committee of council to ignore distinctive religious training. Until 1870 government grants were distributed among denominational schools, but in that year it will be remembered that the *Elementary Education Act* was passed, by which parliament separated itself from all concern in definite religious instruction, and provided for the establishment of undenominational schools under local school-boards; its grants being distributed in proportion to the proficiency of each child in the rudiments of secular knowledge. The difference between the government grants and the gross cost of maintenance in the board-schools has to be provided by the local ratepayers; but the difference between the government grants and the cost of maintenance in "voluntary" schools has to be supplied by contributions from friends; who have also to pay the school-board rate. The education act of 1870 has been supplemented by further legislation, and notably in 1891, when by the *Free Education Act* a sum of 10s. yearly for each child was granted from imperial revenue in lieu of school fees to that amount; the effect being to relieve parents from paying school fees in most cases, and to reduce the higher fees by 10s. or more per year. In 1897 the *Voluntary Schools Act* gave a further grant of 5s. yearly per child, to help those schools to increase their appliances and improve the efficiency of their teaching staffs.

Elementary Day School Statistics for the year ending Aug. 31, 1897.

Denomination.	Accommodation.	No. on Registers.	Average Attendances.	Voluntary Contributions.
Church of England	2,759,670	2,300,267	1,871,773	£632,906
British, etc.	353,125	289,105	234,268	92,527
Wesleyan	182,946	155,978	125,171	19,777
Romanist	380,849	302,420	240,784	98,664
Board	2,538,609	2,459,269	2,016,547
Total	6,215,199	5,507,039	4,488,543	£843,874

Voluntary expenditure on Church schools and Training colleges.

Object of expenditure.	1811-1870.	1870-1896.	Total.
	£	£	£
Building schools ¹	6,270,577	7,977,202	14,247,779
Maintenance of ditto	8,500,000	17,171,681	25,671,681
Building training colleges	194,085	111,800	305,885
Maintenance of ditto	185,276	381,647	566,923
Total.....	15,149,938	25,642,330	40,792,268

¹ These figures are exclusive of the value of sites, which are often free gifts, and if added would increase the total expenditure. Considerably over a million pounds yearly is now bestowed by churchmen on elementary schools.

In 1870 the accommodation in national schools was 1,365,080, and the average attendance 844,334. There were no board-schools then. From such figures it will be seen that although, since 1870, the Church has had to contend against the unlimited exchequer of board-schools, she has more than doubled her usefulness as a teacher of the poor. (These figures take no account of the multitude of grammar-schools and other institutions for intermediate and higher education which have always been the peculiar care of the Church.) In some counties our national schools have an overwhelming preponderance, and in the vast majority of rural villages the national school is still the only medium of elementary education. And notwithstanding great disadvantages, the results obtained in Church schools equal, and often exceed, the board-school results; and at much less cost per head. In 1895 the

average cost of teaching a child in a voluntary school was £1 18s. 11d. In the board-schools the cost was over £2 10s. But beyond the question of cost there is the priceless boon of definite religious teaching. It is therefore important that the Church should maintain her educational work ; for, as the Nat. Society points out, "without religion, though it may be possible to instruct, it is not possible thoroughly to educate ; and for religious teaching to be effectual it must be definite in character. When children are brought up in schools where religious teaching is vague and uncertain, they not only fail to receive any deep impression for good, but are in danger of acquiring indifference towards religion."



STRATFORD-ON-AVON CHURCH.

5. Church restoration.—The most remarkable of the marvellous developments of modern Church work is the decided change for the better in the general aspect of our parish churches. Many people can remember dreary and dilapidated houses of prayer in their youthtime, of which there are now very few to be seen unimproved. The architectural beauties of the buildings were disfigured by the flimsiest woodwork, plaster, and paint. Until about 1860 such neglect was

the rule rather than the exception. But the revived attention to Church history and antiquities has wrought a wonderful change; and for discomfort, want of cleanliness, and objectionable class distinctions, we now possess equality, uniformity, decency, and orderly arrangement in our churches; which has greatly increased the spirit of reverence which ought never to be absent from our minds when we go to worship God. Now-a-days the pulpit occupies a less prominent position than it used to do; and a stranger can at once see that a church is not so much a place where people come "to hear Mr. So-and-so preach," as a sanctuary into which men come seeking rest and refreshment from One who is no respecter of persons. Such a transformation has taken place in nearly every ancient parish church within the memory of many now living. More than 8000 temples of God's grace—beautiful for situation, the joy of countless generations in every part of the land, the living witnesses of past benevolence—



AN UNRESTORED CHANCEL.

have been made to rise again to newer life during the last sixty years. Within their walls for many centuries the voice of prayer and praise has ascended to the throne of grace from innumerable hearts. Some of them are in towns and cities where the hurry and bustle of life cause us to carelessly pass them by (for the most ancient will often be found in the busiest parts); but the greater number are in out of the way villages, surrounded by equally old and older churchyards,

where the ancestry of the neighbourhood and relatives of the parishioners lie buried who once worshipped therein. Sometimes new churches have had to be built, because the old had been allowed to go altogether to decay ; but the stones of the old are often bound up in such new buildings, the religious history of the parishes remaining, while the love of the parishioners for such sanctuaries is most cordial. Modern adversaries of the Church of England desire such ancient churches to be vested in parochial boards elected by the ratepayers ; which should have power to use them for secular purposes, and even to sell them. It is not difficult to imagine that certain parishes (where there are a majority of nonconformists, or Jews, or foreign colonists) might elect representatives to such a board who would arbitrarily use such power to the detriment of Church interests. In some places it has even been found difficult for restorers of our churches to avoid opposition ; and if men are found jealous when loving hands propose to move the crumbling stones we may be sure that they would still more resent the sacrilegious profanation of "liberationists." Churchmen in every part of England cherish similar feelings. "They think of the cathedrals and their glory ; of the little village churches and their sweetness ; of the bells that—from every steeple, tower, and turret—chime o'er hill and dale ; of the means of grace offered within these sanctuaries to all who desire them, no matter how lowly or exalted their rank ; and they determine that the privileges they have inherited shall not be lost. From the cradle to the grave they and theirs have been, and are being ministered to by God's appointed stewards ; and therefore they are desirous that in the days that are coming there still may be her blessings offered to every babe, her open gates and inviting altars, her benediction for every bridal, her visits of sympathy and instruction for every sick room, her words of hope for every grave, and the music of her Prayer-book echoing near each one of us daily and nightly" (*Bishop Alexander*). If we were to allow these priceless heritages—which our forefathers built and handed down to us in trust for our posterity—to be surrendered to irreligious clamour, how could we expect to retain the friendship of God to whose glory they have been erected ? There are many English-speaking countries which would give anything they now enjoy to have such memorials of the piety of by-gone ages as we possess. They even claim a share in them as they are, and would bitterly reproach us if we neglected to take good care of them.

6. Increase and training of clergy.—The chief difficulty which the Church meets with in modern times is due to the remarkably rapid increase in the population of towns and cities. "They grow at a rate that will not admit of the slightest relaxation of effort to supply its spiritual necessities; nay, that demands increased exertion." The only way of meeting the need is by adding to the number of churches and clergy. And that has been done in two ways: by abolishing the holding of more than one benefice by individual clergymen, except in special cases; and by providing assistant clergy to help the incumbents of populous parishes, who are generally known as "curates."¹ Curates there were in former times; but they were chiefly the deputies of non-resident or pluralist incumbents. So extensively did the evil of non-residence prevail, that in the year 1810, from parliamentary returns of the 10,159 livings held by incumbents, more than half of the parishes were supplied by curates-in-sole-charge. After the passing of the pluralities act that state of things became gradually changed. Hence, in 1838 some 3078 curates-in-charge acted for non-resident incumbents; in 1896 only 385. The ability to provide for additional clergy and their helpers comes mainly from two societies:—The *Church Pastoral Aid Society*, which was founded in 1836; and the *Additional Curates' Society* which came into being the following year. Their action is co-extensive with the country, but most dioceses have also local agencies which help incumbents to obtain clerical assistance. In 1831 there were 13,994,460 persons in England and Wales. In 1891 there were 29,150,367. This growth is altogether in the towns; and not at all in rural districts, for the young villagers migrate to manufacturing districts for work and better wages; and therefore, although spiritual needs of villages are fairly met by resident incumbents, the ever-growing town populations cry aloud for more clergy. The following comparison will show what efforts have been made.

Benefices (England and Wales) in the year 1836,	10,657;	1896,	13,890
Beneficed clergy in England and Wales	„	8,147;	„ 13,720
Curates employed by <i>resident</i> incumbents	„	1,006;	„ 6,514
Curates employed by <i>non-resident</i> incumbents	„	4,224;	„ 385

About 700 new clergy are ordained every year. Up to 1816 the universities were the only sources from which clergy could be drawn; but in that year a theological college was founded at St. Bees, Cumberland,

¹ According to the Prayer-book, incumbents are the "curates," for they have the "cure" or care of souls. The application of the term to assistant clergy is modern.

for the exclusive training of candidates for holy orders, who were unable to go to Oxford or Cambridge, and that foundation furnished many recruits for the ministry. Several similar institutions were subsequently founded; notably St. Aidan's, Birkenhead; and St. John's-hall, Highbury. In 1831 King's-college, London, was opened to teach Church of England doctrines and duties, combined with the usual branches of secular education; and it has trained many of our clergy. In 1832 Durham university was founded, with a theological department, for the sake of men who, though unable to avail themselves of the older universities, were willing to qualify for degrees.



DURHAM CATHEDRAL AND CASTLE.

The Victorian era has witnessed the revival of diocesan theological seminaries. Hence Chichester in 1839—followed by Wells, Oxford (Cuddesdon), Lichfield, Salisbury, Lincoln, Ely, Leeds, and Truro, in the order named—were provided with training homes for clergy; chiefly to supplement the ordinary university course by a year or more of theological training. Still later (1892) a similar provision was made for Wales at Aberdare. The success of such local training grounds prompted the establishment of definite theological colleges in

the university centres ; such as Keble-college, Oxford ; followed by Wycliffe-hall, also at Oxford ; and Ridley-hall in Cambridge, in which a divinity training (corresponding to the opinions of the famous men whose names they bear) goes on concurrently with the customary studies for degrees in Arts. This multitude of divinity schools fully supplies the need of which St. Bees' was at one time the sole provider ; and in 1896 that college was closed. During the twenty-six years from 1872-1897 there were 18,448 new clergy ordained for England and Wales, drawn from the following educational centres :—Cambridge, 5698 ; Oxford, 5382 ; theological colleges, 4746 ; Durham, 1163 ; Dublin, 721 ; besides which 738 were ordained as “literates,” having satisfied the bishops as to their intellectual attainments without attending any special training institution. There are also special colleges for training foreign missionaries, such as the C.M.S. college at Islington, St. Augustine's at Canterbury, and smaller institutions.

7. Church extension.—The large number of new parishes recently formed, wherein additional churches have been built ; to bring the outward means of grace nearer to the people who have been crowded out of the older centres of population, and make better accommodation for districts that have outgrown the ancient provision ; is an all sufficient testimony that the Church of England is alive to the necessities laid upon her. The “Incorporated Church Building Society” reports that from its foundation in 1818 up to the end of 1896, it has shared in the erection of 2238 new churches, and in the rebuilding, enlarging, or otherwise improving the accommodation in 6039 existing churches. By these means 1,968,439 additional seats were obtained, of which 1,613,199 were set apart for the free use of the parishioners, the total sum contributed by the society being £860,703. A parliamentary return published in 1875 showed that between the years 1840 and 1874 the amount expended in church building and restoration, *not counting sums under £500*, was £25,548,703. A similar return has since been presented to the house of lords, which shows that during the next twenty years a further sum of £20,531,402 was raised and spent for the same purposes, and the *Year-Book* (1897) shows that during the year 1895 an additional £1,259,790 was voluntarily contributed by churchmen ; towards building new, and restoring old churches and parsonages, and their endowment, exclusive of the sums obtained through various Church societies ; the same authority (1898) tells us that £1,231,787 was given for similar purposes in 1896 ;

and they are probably well within the mark who estimate that since the coronation of Queen Victoria in 1837, up to the year 1897, over £60,000,000 have been spent for church building and restoration, apart from endowments or stipends to clergy; and that nearly 5000 new churches were built to meet increased requirements. One thousand four hundred and sixty-one entirely new parochial districts were created between the years 1868 and 1896 to serve a population of 4,926,243 persons. If it were not for such efforts many places would be without any spiritual ministrations whatever, especially in districts where the inhabitants are poor. At present most villages have resident clergy who are to a great extent supported by endowments left by benefactors centuries ago; but if such endowments were taken away, by modern legislation for instance, a large number of rural parishes would be precluded from obtaining efficient and continuous spiritual ministrations. An inquiry (made 1886) in one English county (Somerset), showed that out of 520 parishes, there were no less than 195 where no public religious worship or instruction was provided, except that of the Church of England; and that in 400 of those 520 parishes there were no resident ministers of any religious denomination except the clergy of the Church of England. The same inquiry showed that the parishes wherein other religious bodies do provide accommodation, and living agents, are all among the larger and richer populations; and in those cases not one, but often several different bodies were to be found, dividing up the people into hostile religious camps. The 195 parishes in Somersetshire where the Church of England stands alone are all sparsely inhabited, difficult of access, and sadly deficient in pecuniary resources. Similar statistics have recently been published (1896) of Wales and Monmouthshire, where, out of 1081 parishes, 485 have no resident teachers of religion other than the Church clergymen, and in most of the parishes where nonconformist ministers do live there is keen competition for public favour by various denominations. These figures demonstrate the necessity for maintaining the national Church in her present position of usefulness; apart from the further need of her continuance as "an ensign for the people," and the emblem of unity and comprehension. So much for the villages; but what of the poor and densely-populated towns? How few whose spiritual privileges are ready to hand ever think of the difficulties that beset a clergyman when he is set to work up a new district and build a church! The usual plan is to place a mission priest in an over-populated district to

teach the people what he can, and so relieve the clergy in neighbouring parishes of a small share of their ministerial responsibility. In one such instance known to the writer, a room in a board-school was first obtained for Sunday-school purposes, and on the first Sunday a solitary child presented herself; but before the board-school was given up over 1100 children attended on the Sunday afternoons. Church services were begun in a small house, then the missionary obtained a tent, after that a mission building; and within five years from the commencement of the work a spacious church was built and consecrated; while, to meet a sum of £5000 from a diocesan fund, over £8000 were raised to provide sites for church and parsonage and pay the builders' charges. Seven hundred people can now worship comfortably in the church, and all the parish knows that any one may go there whenever it is convenient, and sit where he pleases; for the church is free and open, and the seats are not appropriated. This is not an isolated case.

8. Home mission work.—Many poor and needy folk are averse to going to church at all, sometimes because they feel that their wearing apparel is incongruous, sometimes because the church is too far off for them to spare the time from work or domestic duties to attend a regular service; in other cases because the wife of a poor working man cannot leave her young family, and must either bring her little ones with her or stay away from worship altogether. To meet those difficulties, which are very real ones, mission buildings have been provided, as supplementing the parish churches. Over 5000 such permanent mission buildings now exist, other than parish and district churches, in which services are systematically held, and accommodation provided for nearly a million poor persons. In this and many other ways, of which our space will not permit the enumeration, England's Church strives to win the poorest of the people to Christ. She goes down among the most degraded ones—in the haunts of micery, vice, and squalor—seeking to relieve their temporal and spiritual necessities. By means of the parochial system, every inhabitant in our land is enabled to claim a share in the privileges of worship; and every incumbent is responsible for bringing within their reach the means by which their spiritual aspirations may be developed.

“Bulwark of a mighty nation, see the Church of England stand,
Founded on the Rock of Ages, hope and glory of our land.
Nursing mother of our freedom, sowing truth from door to door;
Watching o'er the young and aged, Church alike of rich and poor.”

One great want of rich and poor alike in our country is the need of a quiet place where they may "go apart and rest awhile" from the cares and troubles that beset them. At home privacy is out of the question, and many Christian souls are hindered by the irreligious conduct of other members of their families. It is becoming more and more the rule to have our churches open at stated times each day; and increasing use is made of the advantages thus offered for private meditation amid hallowed surroundings. It is desirable that such privileges should be still further extended. In 1896 there were 4117 churches in which daily public prayers might be attended, and 6090 which were open for



A TEMPORARY MISSION-ROOM (*see page 540*).

private prayer, as against 2896 and 4239 five years previously. No one can doubt that so great an improvement in so short a time has been much appreciated, not only by the poor who most need the privilege, but also by a very large number of business people who often feel the need of mental refreshment such as only communion with God in prayer can give. Archbishop Benson once said :—" Many of our devout poor can find neither space nor quiet for the solitary closet prayer which 'The Father seeth.' For them the retirement of the spacious lonely church is the 'closet' of Christ. I have known it so, not only for them, but for the active young workman in his dinner hour. But

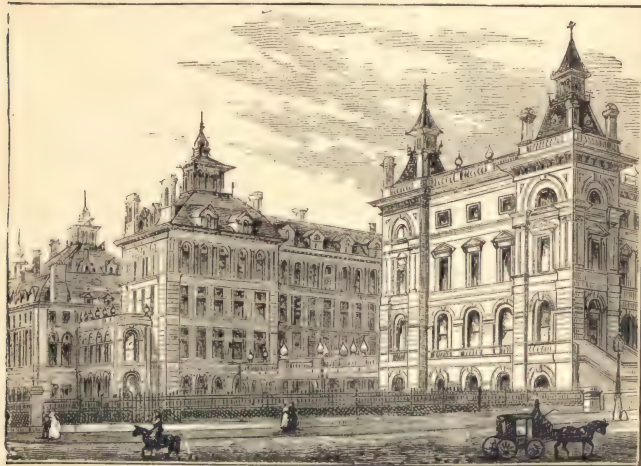
not they only—many who have room enough and time enough have thanked God for giving them there, in still moments, refreshment, strength, and a deeper understanding of why His house is called the ‘house of prayer,’ as our Lord desired that it should be.”

The best idea of the work and membership of the Church of England may be annually gleaned from the *Official Year-Book* (S.P.C.K.). In the footnote¹ are some of its figures. Our space is insufficient to adequately describe the manifold labours of love performed by the multitude of church-workers, such as lay-readers, mission women, parish nurses and district visitors; but not to have named them would be a grave omission. Nor should we forget the quiet, elevating influences exerted by such organisations as the *Girls' Friendly Society*, and our parish guilds. Their work and worship is very beneficial to our fatherland; it is a great privilege to have part and lot therein. But most of that work is done by Christian men and women in addition to their domestic duties. There is, however, another phase of modern religious effort which recalls the community life of the middle ages; and which, if watched and guided by those in authority, is likely to grow into a great power for good. It is sufficient to name the society of St. John at Cowley, and the sisterhoods of Wantage, East-Grinstead, and Clewer. Much of their work is in foreign mission fields.

9. Finance.—When churchmen think of the wondrous liberality of recent times, they will not find any cause for discouragement. Yet we cannot avoid the reflection that such good work for God and His Church would have been far less had it not been that the ancient provision for the maintenance of the clergy enabled the voluntary contributions of churchmen in our own day to be appropriated to such extension and development. Those ancient endowments are the real objects of our adversaries' designs, and therefore we should take special steps to guard them. The liberationist theory that pre-reformation bequests were given for the support of all religions, because at that time there was only one in existence, is one of those

¹ Church accommodation in 1896:—free, 5,476,582; appropriated, 1,400,395=6,876,977
 Communicants on the rolls or communicating on Easter day, 1896 ... 1,886,059
 Sunday-school teachers in 1896, 206,159; scholars in Sunday-schools = 2,393,372
 Members of Bible classes in 1896:—male, 224,416; female, 243,051 ... = 467,467
 Number of persons baptised in 1896:—infants, 573,194; adults, 12,149 = 585,343
 Number of persons confirmed in 1896:—males, 89,625; females, 129,622 = 219,247
 Temperance society members in 1896:—juvenile, 455,253; adult, 175,186 = 630,439
 Voluntary choristers in 1896:—male, 210,039; female, 80,889 ... = 290,928

daring violations of common-sense whose very audacity occasionally ensures their triumph. The ancient endowments of the Church were given specifically to the various cathedrals, parish churches, and capitular bodies, to be used for their separate maintenance, that the localities benefited thereby might always enjoy ministerial service according to the use of the Church of England. Let us understand their extent. According to a return made to parliament in 1890 the gross income of the Church from ancient endowments and modern benefactions amounted to £5,753,557 ; but as that was calculated upon the commutation value of tithe, which dropped thirty per cent. during



ST. THOMAS'S HOSPITAL (*see next page*).

the fourteen years ending 1897, and because incumbents are liable for repairs, insurance, and taxes on land and houses, and pay more than half the stipends of the assistant curates, the net receipts do not much exceed £3,000,000 a year if we deduct the cost of collection. Divide this among about 14,000 benefices, and an average income of little more than £200 per incumbent is the result. In 1896 the net official income of the clergy was £3,349,977. The ecclesiastical commissioners' return for the year 1897 shows that since their common fund was created in 1840 they have augmented and endowed over

5700 benefices, at a yearly cost of £808,835, most of which is derived from tithe and glebe lands that the commissioners have received for re-distribution ; and to meet which private benefactors have contributed additional sums amounting to no less than £181,940 a year.

Besides the contributions of churchmen for home and foreign missions, church building and restoration, and elementary education, there are the current expenses of every church to be met, and the poor of each parish to be looked after. But there are numerous other directions in which liberality flows unceasingly, two of which we name as examples. Our charitable institutions of various kinds, such as orphanages, penitentiaries, and reformatories are very numerous ; but the most prominent, by reason of the magnitude of its operations, is *The Church Army*. It works under the authority of parochial clergy in parishes where it is invited, and in 1897 it raised and spent £98,000 on behalf of the material and spiritual welfare of the outcast and poor. Its governing staff is almost entirely honorary. Our second example refers to the Church's care for sick people. Besides the old endowed hospitals we find nursing institutions, cottage hospitals and convalescent homes all over the land ; which receive a very large share of the benevolence of churchpeople. In the matter of *Hospital Sunday* alone, it is known that churchmen in London subscribed £627,447 in the years 1873-97, out of £811,577, the whole amount contributed by all denominations. The *voluntary* contributions of the Church of England for the ten years ending 1895, *exceeded six millions of money* yearly. In 1896 it was over seven millions, most of which was available for the general good because, owing to endowments left to the Church in earlier ages, churchmen are comparatively free from anxiety respecting incomes for beneficed clergy. Surely the work of the Church of England is too great and beneficial to the realm for it ever to cease being the chief religious body in our land. Her adversaries may approach to hurt her, but if her children are on guard they will approach in vain. Yet it is not alone for her material possessions that churchmen care. They are all as nothing compared with her apostolic character and her true Christian doctrines. If these are let slip we have no anchor of hope remaining. It is hardly possible, however, that we shall let them go. Our episcopal leaders were never more able and devoted than they are now ; nor were they ever so numerous and united. We call to them " Watchmen, what of the night ? " and they answer cheerily " The morning cometh."

CHAPTER XXX. (A.D. 1784–1888)

THE EXTENSION OF THE EPISCOPATE

“Look forth! that stream behold,
That stream upon whose bosom we have passed,
Floating at ease, while nations have effaced
Nations, and death has gathered to his fold
Long lines of mighty kings—Look forth, my soul!
(Nor in this vision be thou slow to trust)
The living waters, less and less by guilt
Stained and polluted, brighten as they roll.”

1. The American episcopate.—Although our attention has been chiefly directed to purely English affairs, it would be a grave error to omit all reference to the growth of the Anglican Church beyond the seas. For more than a century the colonial clergy had been under the jurisdiction of the bishop of London, who appointed commissaries to inquire into their conduct. All attempts to form colonial bishoprics met with very chilling responses from English statesmen, apart from whom the bishops could not act. The young were not confirmed, clergy could not be ordained without the expense and risk of long and dangerous voyages, and therefore the Church did not prosper abroad. Until 1776, when the transatlantic settlements declared their independence, America was the fairest gem of all the British dependencies; but after a struggle of several years their independence was acknowledged by England. Some of the American clergy had taken up the cause of independence; those who were faithful to English rule were driven out of the revolutionary states; and at the close of the war the Church in America was at its lowest ebb. In Virginia alone, where there had been 164 churches and 91 clergy, only 28 clergy were left and 95 of the churches had been destroyed. As it was impossible for the bishop of London to have ecclesiastical jurisdiction over revolted states, a native episcopate was more than ever imperatively necessary, if the Anglican episcopal Church in America was to continue its existence. The state of Connecticut was the first to move in the matter. The clergy elected one of their number, *Dr. Samuel Seabury*, as their bishop, and sent him to England for consecration. The English prelates could not consecrate him, however, because according to law all bishops were bound to take an oath of allegiance to the English crown; which Seabury, as the subject of a foreign state, was unable to do. He therefore went

to Scotland, and received the gift of episcopacy from the persecuted and proscribed Scotch Church ; at the hands of Bishops Kilgour, Petrie, and Skinner in the upper room of a house in Long-acre, Aberdeen ; November 14, 1784. Thus Seabury became the first bishop of the American Church, and his unpretentious episcopal residence near Springfield, Connecticut, still stands as a relic of transatlantic history. Meanwhile the clergy in the states of New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania had agreed to hold a general convention of the



episcopal Church of the American States, to which clergy and laity should send delegates. It met at Philadelphia, September 27, 1785, and drew up an application to the English bishops for consecration of its nominees. But that convention had proposed some radical changes in

BISHOP SEABURY'S HOUSE, SPRINGFIELD, CONN. the Prayer-book, which the English bishops objected to ; so the latter guardedly replied (February 24, 1786) that, while willing to be instrumental in procuring for Americans "the complete exercise of an holy religion, and the enjoyment of that ecclesiastical constitution which we believe to be apostolical ; we cannot but be extremely cautious lest we should be the instruments of establishing an ecclesiastical system which will be called a branch of the Church of England, but may afterwards appear to have departed from it essentially, either in doctrine or in discipline." The convention met again in June 1786, to consider this warning, and agreed to abandon the more radical changes. They then elected as bishops : *Dr. White* for Philadelphia and *Dr. Provost* for New York ; and sent them to England for consecration. The English government agreed to waive the oath of allegiance in the case of bishops consecrated for places outside English rule ; and the bishops-elect were

consecrated by the archbishops of Canterbury and York, assisted by the bishops of Bath and Wells and Peterborough, in the chapel of Lambeth-palace, February 4, 1787. The new bishops at once returned to America and landed on the following Easter-day. There were thus two lines of episcopal succession bestowed upon America, Scotch and English. On September 19, 1790, the archbishop of Canterbury, assisted by the bishops of London and Rochester, consecrated a fourth American bishop, *James Madison* of Virginia; and on September 17, 1792, all four American bishops united in consecrating *Thomas John Claggett* to be bishop of Maryland. Every American bishop of the present day can trace his episcopal succession, through Bishop Claggett, to the Scotch and English Churches. Having thus obtained its episcopate, and consequently the power of progression and reproduction, the American branch of the Anglican Church made rapid strides. At the present time (1897) it has 74 home bishoprics, beside several missionary bishops at work in heathen countries. Besides which, it has nearly 5000 clergy, 664,083 registered communicants, and 433,600 Sunday scholars. The number of persons baptised in the year 1896-97 was 65,093, and of persons confirmed in that year 46,099. Its voluntary contributions for Church purposes in the same year totalled \$12,696,813, part of which was expended in missions to the heathen.

2. The Colonial episcopate.—On August 12, 1787, *Dr. Charles Inglis* was consecrated to be the first colonial bishop. His sphere of work was in Nova Scotia, whither many loyal royalist refugees had fled during the war of independence; but his jurisdiction included all the British possessions in America, until the consecration of *Dr. Mountain* as bishop of Quebec, in 1793, relieved him of the charge of Upper and Lower Canada. In 1839 Newfoundiand was made a separate diocese, to still further relieve the bishop of Nova Scotia, and in the same year the diocese of Toronto was founded out of the diocese of Quebec. In 1849 the vast territory belonging to the Hudson's-bay company was made the diocese of Rupertsland, with *Dr. Anderson* for its first bishop. British North America is now (1898) divided into twenty-one bishoprics, grouped in two archbishoprics.

Turning to our Indian dependencies we do not find the same rapidity of progress, but it must be remembered that the conditions are different. In 1814 the see of Calcutta was founded, with *Dr. Middleton* for its first bishop, but he was only a sort of chaplain-general (under the archbishop of Canterbury) to look after the chaplains of the East-

India company. When Bishop Heber was sent out in 1823, the diocese of Calcutta was declared to include all the possessions of the East-India company, including the Straits settlements, but in 1835 the bishopric of Madras was created, followed by that of Bombay in 1837. There are now ten district bishoprics working in India, and the archbishop of Calcutta is their metropolitan; but with the exception of the native states of Travancore and Cochin, where the bishop is free from civil restrictions, the state does not allow the Indian bishops "to have or use any jurisdiction, or exercise any episcopal functions, except such as shall or may from time to time be limited by letters patent under the great seal of the United Kingdom" consequently church extension and missionary enterprise have been much hampered.

Better results are recorded of *Australasia*. Until 1836 its vast continents and innumerable islands were held to be an archdeaconry of Calcutta, several thousand miles away, and there were very few clergy or churches. But since *Dr. Broughton* was made bishop of Australia in 1836, with his seat in Sydney, 13 additional dioceses have been founded; in which over 820 clergy are working; while cathedrals and churches are springing up all over the continent. The first bishop for Tasmania was consecrated in 1842. The Australian Church is governed by its own diocesan and provincial synods, in which the laity take part. In New Zealand, and the Pacific isles (which first received a missionary [Mr. Marsden] in 1814, and a bishop [Dr. Selwyn] in 1841), similar progress appears; for Oceania has now (1898) eight bishops.

In the *West Indies* Church work went on side by side with the civil settlements from the very first, and was largely subsidised by the government; but there were no bishops appointed until 1824, when Bishop Coleridge was sent to Barbadoes, and Bishop Lipscombe to Jamaica. In 1868 the government withdrew its pecuniary aid, and left the West Indian Church to take care of itself. It now comprises ten bishoprics, and includes British Guiana and the Falkland islands.

South-Africa, too, has an important and growing Church with eight bishoprics; and there are other dioceses at St. Helena, Mauritius, and Sierra Leone, peculiar in their isolation and climatic conditions, which are generally grouped with south Africa. There are also missionary bishops who work in north and mid China, Japan, Honolulu, Madagascar, equatorial Africa, Niger Territory, and Yoruba. All this is the development of a single century; for whereas, before 1787, there were

no colonial or missionary bishops, and only seven in 1837, there are now (1897) ninety-six in active work abroad ; who, in common with American, Irish, and Scotch bishops, look upon the archbishop of Canterbury as their chief superintendent. Of course bishops do not make a Church, any more than officers make an army, but they are essential to its government. When bishops go out to the colonies they are preceded and followed by many clergy ; who bring means of grace within the reach of colonists and converts, form them into congregations, and "build them up in their most holy faith." The slightest contemplation of the continued prosperity and extension of the Anglican episcopate, radiating to the remotest corners of the world, will help us to answer those who say that our Church is worn out or effete. When a tree begins to decay the signs thereof are seen in its withering branches ; but the aspect of the national Church shows that from every limb she is continually putting forth new shoots, the leaves whereof are "for the healing of the nations."

BRISTOL CATHEDRAL (*see next page*).

3. Home diocesan changes.—Not only in the colonies has the episcopate increased. It has been augmented in England also, although not to the same extent. The home dioceses are not to be measured by area so much as by the number of inhabitants, clergy, and parishes; and the percentage of English bishops was never so disproportionate as now. At the beginning of the eighteenth century there were not so many people in the whole of England and Wales as there are now in the London postal district, but there were then 27 bishops. Now that the population has increased five-fold there are only 35, with 25 coadjutors. But the population and revenues of the 27 old dioceses varied so greatly that the commissioners who were appointed in 1831, to inquire into the revenues and needs of the Church, proposed that, for greater efficiency of administration, episcopal incomes should be adjusted and the area of the dioceses re-arranged; but they did not propose to increase the number of bishops. The rapid growth of northern and midland towns made the creation of new bishoprics imperative, but the desideratum was to be brought about by amalgamating others. Bishop Gray had made the diocese of Bristol very unpopular by opposing the reform bill of 1831, and the rioters burned down the episcopal mansion; perhaps that was one reason why the see was suppressed. It had existed from the reign of Henry VIII., but in 1836 its territory was divided among the dioceses of Gloucester, Salisbury, and Bath and Wells; the title and cathedral going to the see of Gloucester. (The Bristol diocese has been recently [1897] re-established with Dr. G. F. Browne for its new bishop.)

Simultaneously with the partition of Bristol a new diocese was created for south-west Yorkshire; with the bishop's seat at *Ripon* (see page 79), where there was an historic church. It had been monastic from the days of Wilfrid of York to 1536, when it was made collegiate. In the seventh century Archbishop Theodore wished it to be an episcopal centre; and as parts of Wilfrid's church are incorporated in the present cathedral it becomes an embodiment of English Church history, linking us with the days of the Heptarchy.

4. The diocese of Manchester.—The principles that moved the ecclesiastical commissioners to distribute the diocese of Bristol led them to sub-divide other dioceses. The see of Ely received from that of Lincoln the counties of Bedford and Huntingdon; Oxford diocese received Berkshire from that of Salisbury, and Buckinghamshire from the see of Lincoln; Peterborough diocese received Leicestershire also



MANCHESTER CATHEDRAL.

from that of Lincoln; and the latter diocese, having got rid of four counties, was enabled to relieve the see of York by taking charge of Nottinghamshire. The commissioners also proposed to amalgamate the ancient see of Sodor and Man with the diocese of Chester, and unite the old Welsh dioceses of Bangor and St. Asaph, so as to obtain funds wherewith to found a new diocese for the cotton manufacturing towns, with the bishop's seat at *Manchester*. The amalgamations were

to come into force on the deaths of one or other of the bishops whose sees were to be affected ; but when Bishop Carey of St. Asaph died, the bishop of Bangor declined to be responsible for the extra work ; and the Welsh people had by that time petitioned against the suppression of their historic sees. As relief for the immense diocese of Chester could no longer be delayed, an endowment for the Manchester diocese was raised by private subscription ; and Dr. Prince Lee became its first bishop in 1848. The cathedral of Manchester was never monastic. It had been a parish church from pre-Norman times, and remained so up to 1422 ; when Thomas De-la-Warre, the lord of the manor and also the rector, obtained a charter from Henry V. by which it became a collegiate body. The extensive glebe lands which that church had held since Saxon times, became more and more valuable as the old parish of Manchester grew from a village into a populous town ; but as its revenues belonged to the parish, the daughter churches claimed and obtained, by special act of parliament, the right to a proportionate share.

5. The diocese of Truro.—Nearly thirty years elapsed before any further increase was effected in the home episcopate. Any projects which were mooted fell through, chiefly because there were political reasons against increasing the number of spiritual peers. At length it was arranged that the number of bishops' seats in the house of lords should not be increased, but that, with the exception of the archbishops and the bishops of London, Durham, and Winchester, the bishops consecrated in future should occupy the seats in order of their consecration. Another difficulty was the question of funds ; for it was felt that a bishop's income should be sufficient to enable him to uphold the dignity, hospitality, and charity belonging to his position and office. In the far south-west of England, an enormous extent of territory had for over 800 years been under the oversight of the bishop of Exeter (see page 39 and 124). It was in every way desirable that the ancient diocese of Cornwall should be revived. By 1875, and chiefly through the munificence of one lady, sufficient funds were raised to endow the bishopric. It was then easy to obtain a special act of parliament (38 & 39 Vict., c. 34) to allot the boundaries of the diocese. The old parish church of St. Mary at Truro was assigned for the bishop's seat, but as that was quite unsuitable for cathedral purposes a new one had to be built ; and it was most encouraging to find, at a time when enemies of the Church were besieging her gates, that her loyal children were benevolently contributing many thousands of pounds to build

and endow a new cathedral, which need not fear to hold up its head beside the marvels of mediæval architecture. The Cornwall diocese lays claim to great antiquity, and there are remains of a fifth century church still standing at Perranzabuloe, within ten miles of Truro. The foundation stones of the new cathedral were laid in 1877 with grand masonic honours by the Prince of Wales, as duke of Cornwall; who was also present at the first consecration, Nov. 3, 1887. Only the chancel and transepts were built then; the nave and towers are following. Cathedrals cannot be built in a decade. The ancient parish church of St. Mary, Truro, is incorporated in the south aisle of the chancel. When completed the cathedral will accommodate 2500 worshippers.



TRURO CATHEDRAL (*as proposed*).

On the happy day when the eastern portion was dedicated, Archbishop Benson (to whom, when first bishop of Truro, the commencement and progress of the building was due) preached a memorable sermon. "The anti-religious politician would exclude history from education," he said. "The ultramontane would exclude it from being cross-examined. Yet happily both are making history meanwhile, and writing themselves down in it. Well may they hate it here in England. The one can but read that England was a Church before it was a state: the other that England never acquiesced in the foreign prelate. . . . Rise to your birthrights—your English, catholic, apostolic, Christian birthrights—help, comfort, strengthen, revive, found."

6. The diocese of St. Albans.—The enormously rapid growth of London loudly called for some re-arrangement of the metropolitan dioceses. The pressure was greatest on the bishop of Rochester, who used to be responsible for Essex and Hertfordshire, besides part of Kent; and the bishop of Winchester, whose jurisdiction formerly included the county of Surrey. So it was arranged that Essex and Herts

should be made a separate diocese; and that Rochester should be bounded by the southern bank of the Thames, to relieve the see of Winchester of the care of Surrey. Part of the endowment for the new diocese was obtained by the sale of the bishop of Winchester's London palace and part by voluntary subscriptions, a suitable church for its cathedral being ready to hand in *St. Albans-abbey* (pages 111 and 152), which yields to no cathedral in antiquity or historic glory. Its name and traditions unmistakably remind us that the ancient British Church had adherents ready to shed their blood in her defence. The church was partly built in the Saxon times, partly about the time of the Norman conquest, and has been added to several times since. It was restored by public subscription in 1688, and has lately been completely renovated, chiefly by the munificence of a wealthy layman. Dr. Claughton was transferred from Rochester as first bishop, A.D. 1877.

7. The diocese of Liverpool.—Thirty years' experience of the working of the diocese of Manchester had conclusively demonstrated the wisdom of its foundation. As the diocese of Chester was still far too large and populous for any ordinary bishop to superintend properly, and as there were several other districts of England in similar straits, a number of prominent churchmen met in London in 1876 to consider what was best to be done. They petitioned the government to support any well-considered measure that might be introduced in parliament for the extension of the home episcopate, and the redistribution and division of dioceses. The result was that in 1878 an act was passed (41 & 42 Vict., c. 68) which provided for the foundation of bishoprics at Liverpool, Newcastle, Southwell, and Wakefield; so soon as sufficient funds were placed in the hands of the ecclesiastical commissioners to enable the bishops to receive adequate stipends. Liverpool was the first to take shape, because the merchant princes of that city could better spare the needful funds; and the diocese became an accomplished fact in 1880. We may take some statistics of the diocese of Liverpool as illustrative of the need for an increased episcopate. In the year 1687 there were only 25 churches in the whole territory now forming the see. The population increased, and the churches also, so that by the year 1837 there were no less than 78 churches in the same area. Fifty-three new churches had sprung up in 150 years. But during the next 50 years no less than 122 quite new churches were added to the number, making 200 altogether. These figures were given by Dr. Ryle, the first bishop of the see, when he



LIVERPOOL
CATHEDRAL
IN 1880.

consecrated a new church on the last day of the year 1887; and when we remember that the bishops are the generals, so to speak, of the Church, it becomes manifest that one additional staff-officer at least is needed in a district where the rank and file of the clergy have been multiplied tenfold. As at Truro, there was no suitable church in Liverpool for a cathedral; and the mother church of the city, "old St. Peter's," built in 1704, accommodates the bishop's chair. But unlike Truro, the churchmen of Liverpool have not yet seen their way to build a new cathedral; although there are many men in the

second city of our great empire who could build, from foundation to vane, without missing the money, a cathedral which should worthily represent the dignity of our national Church to the streams of Americans and colonists who pass through England's chief seaport on their European travels. On the other hand, it is but fair to remember that the city is still insufficiently provided with parish churches, through the inability of churchmen to keep pace with the increasing population.

8. The diocese of Newcastle.—In 1882 the county of Northumberland obtained a cathedral of its own once more. The development of the mining and manufacturing populations that have sprung up in the neighbourhood of the Tyne, demanded that some special steps should be taken to provide for the spiritual direction of that distant county. It is felt by many that the arrangement of

England into counties offers the best solution for a further extension of the episcopate, *i. e.* that there should be a bishop provided for each county, exclusive of urban bishops for large centres of population such as London, Liverpool, Manchester, and Birmingham; which need resident bishops of their own. The position of a bishop is far different now than when, in the earliest days of English Christianity, he was the head of a devoted band of missionaries. They are now administrators of multitudinous organisations, called parishes, many of which are themselves more populous than some kingdoms were under the Heptarchy. Newcastle was chosen to be the seat of the northernmost bishopric because it is a great metropolis, the centre of trade and commerce for the north. But Lindisfarne was the centre of Church life and missionary enterprise long before the Church of England was fully formed. It was indeed "the cradle of Anglian Christianity." For 240 years from its foundation by St. Aidan, Lindisfarne was an episcopal seat. Chester-le-Street held the honour for 113 years after the Danish invasion; and then the bishop's stool was taken to Durham, where it has since remained. The revenues of Lindisfarne were appropriated to Durham by the Norman nobles;



NEWCASTLE CATHEDRAL.

and then Lindisfarne became a dependent cell to its own offspring. The miniature cathedral of the island was destroyed when the monasteries were suppressed, and is now in ruins (see page 65). It was hoped, when the bishopric of Northumbria was refounded, that the old title of Lindisfarne would be revived, and that the abbey church at Hexham (see page 91), which had also been the seat of a pre-Norman bishopric, would receive the new bishop's stool; but in this business-like age sentiment must necessarily give way to usefulness. The old parish church of St. Nicholas, Newcastle, which was founded at the Norman conquest, rebuilt in the fourteenth century, and enlarged in the fifteenth century, is not unworthy of episcopal rank; although it was never intended to be more than the parish church of a busy town. It was made a collegiate church by Henry VIII. The funds for endowing this see were soon obtained, and a respected member of the society of friends gave Benwell-tower to be the residence of the bishop. So noble a gift, from one who did not conform to the Church of England, serves to indicate that there is much latent respect for the apostolic form of Church government among those who have it not. The spire of Newcastle cathedral, though an architectural deception upheld by iron supports, is unsurpassed for elegance and proportion. The inside of the cathedral has been renovated recently at great cost, and the chancel adorned with tasteful gifts from loving friends. The first bishop, Dr. Ernest Wilberforce, was consecrated on St. James's day, 1882, in Durham cathedral.

9. The diocese of Southwell.—The ancient diocese of Lichfield has been the mother of no less than twelve daughter sees; all of them flourishing and all densely populated. Derbyshire was taken out of it in 1884, and Nottinghamshire was taken away from the diocese of Lincoln at the same time. From these two counties another new diocese was formed. Many wished Nottingham to be the seat of the bishop, but the grand old minster of Southwell (see page 312) obtained the preference, although it is somewhat inconvenient to reach. The first bishop (Dr. Ridding) was consecrated on the feast of SS. Philip and James, 1884. The funds of this diocese were very difficult to raise, but the fact that the pence of the poor and the gold of the rich were mingled to produce the desired end will help to account for the satisfaction felt by churchmen in that neighbourhood at the completion of so great an enterprise. The history of Southwell minster dates from "old English," *i. e.* pre-Norman times. It was

founded to be a home for secular canons by Edgar the pacific; and placed under the rule of the archbishops of York, A.D. 958. The nave and transepts were built about 1110, and the rest of the fabric in the thirteenth century. From the twelfth to the sixteenth century it was accounted "the head mother church of the town and county of Nottingham," and for 300 years after it was the most important of the collegiate churches refounded by Henry VIII.

Nothing is more clear in modern Church history than the fact that the majority of English people are devotedly attached to the episcopal method of Church government; and that churchmen value and, for the most part, reverence their bishops. They would value them more if they saw them oftener, but to that end we must continue to subdivide the dioceses. At present it is quite impossible for the majority of bishops to visit all the parishes in their dioceses under two or three years, and many parishes hardly ever see their chief pastor at all. Only those who travel much can form any idea of the magnitude of England's parochial system, *e. g.* in the diocese of Norwich there are over 800 resident incumbents, some of whom have two or three churches to look after. Were its bishop to spend a day in each parish, to encourage the pastor, confirm the young, and cheer the old parishioners, he might, by working incessantly six days a week, perform the round of the diocese in three years! Were he to preach twice every Sunday, at a morning service in one parish and at some other parish in the evening, when the majority of the people could get to church to listen to his words, it would not be possible for him to complete the tour in less than nine years! There used to be and should be now, a bishop for Norfolk and another for Suffolk; but the comparative poverty of the district prevents the sub-division. It was stated during the episcopate of Bishop Pelham (1888) that thousands of people in East-Anglia had never seen or heard their bishop, and therefore did not understand the usefulness of episcopal supervision, although their chief pastor was rarely out of his diocese.

10. The diocese of Wakefield.—The next new bishopric of the Victorian era, completing the intention of the act of 1878, was that of Wakefield. Its formation was delayed because, owing to agricultural depression in the previous years, many intending donors to its endowment fund were unable to fulfil their promises of subscription. Wakefield has been world-renowned since Oliver Goldsmith used its name as a fictitious title for his famous romance;

although any other secluded country village, as Wakefield was in the middle of the eighteenth century, would have served his purpose just as well. It is now a thriving business place, and the centre of a number of large manufacturing towns. The creation of the diocese of which it has been made the episcopal seat has therefore greatly relieved the bishopric of Ripon, from which it was taken. Dr. Walsham How, who had previously won golden opinions as a suffragan bishop working in East London, was appointed to be the first bishop, A.D. 1888. More than £10,000 were raised by the zeal and enterprise of many Yorkshire ladies, to build a suitable house for the bishop; and the general endowment fund was subscribed by a much larger number of persons than any modern diocese. Our *Year-Book* states



WAKEFIELD CATHEDRAL IN 1890.

that the sums voluntarily raised for endowing the several dioceses were :—Truro, £70,948 ; St. Albans, £55,073 ; Liverpool, £9,4676 ; Newcastle, £88,866 ; Southwell, £65,835 ; Wakefield, including house, £93,649 ; and for the revived bishopric of Bristol, £75,000 more.

Proposals have also been made to found a new bishopric for Warwickshire, to relieve the diocese of Worcester, with the seat at Birmingham ; another for Surrey, to relieve the see of Rochester, of which the old priory church of Southwark should be the cathedral ; a third to relieve the enormous diocese of St. Davids ; a fourth for Suffolk, reviving its ancient bishopric ; two others for Leicestershire and Essex ; and, quite lately, a bishopric for South-Yorkshire with the seat at Sheffield. But the diocese most needing division is that of London. Three hundred and fifty years ago the necessity was apparent to Cardinal Wolsey, and Westminster-abbey was made a cathedral for the western part, St. Paul's cathedral being confined to the city and the eastern suburbs. But after the removal of Bishop Thirlby to Norwich, in 1550, the Westminster bishopric lapsed ; although its capitular body still remains. Since that time the population of London has quadrupled itself twice over, and under the care of its bishop there are now more than 3,500,000 souls ! Surely the reasons for keeping up an independent jurisdiction for the deans of Westminster are paltry in comparison with the development of Church work that follows the establishment of new bishoprics. There are many who would like the see of Westminster to be revived, and St. Paul's cathedral to become the seat of a smaller bishopric for East-Middlesex.

11. Suffragan-bishops.—It is natural to expect that the Church will be more efficiently administered when there are more bishops to control and guide affairs. With a well-disciplined hierarchy there must come a better parochial administration, and the spiritual life of England cannot fail to be increased. On the other hand, to quote Archbishop Benson's warning, we must "keep our Christian groupings wide enough and our centres strong enough. When every petty city of Africa had its bishop (fourth century) the effectiveness of the episcopate was lowest. Vigour and character were not in hand for so many posts of leaders. Poly-episcopacy ceased to be episcopacy when the diocese became so small a unit. The like multiplication in Italy converted churches into cliques, and delivered Italy over to the one strong see, and Europe followed the leading country. Half a century with us has seen seven colonial sees grow to seventy, and so vast still is their area

that another half century will not be too long to work out the sub-division. Yet the old policy of England must be nowhere forgotten, that sub-division should cease before dioceses become too small for the influence of each to radiate through all ; before the administration anywhere becomes so narrow as to represent only local patriotism." This is why quite recently, as in the reign of King Henry VIII., *suffragan-bishops* have been appointed to assist in certain home dioceses, and *coadjutor-bishops* to help in some colonial sees. Strictly speaking all bishops under a metropolitan are "*suffragans*," but the term is becoming limited to assistant-bishops who have no independent action, and who stand in the same relation to diocesans as assistant-clergy do to incumbents of parishes. The first suffragan of modern times was Dr. Mackenzie, consecrated in 1870 to assist in the diocese of Lincoln, with the title of *bishop of Nottingham*. The Greek archbishop of Syra and Tenos happened to be staying in England at the time, and took part in the consecration ; an act of communion between the East and West that might with advantage be repeated. The legal powers under which this appointment was carried out were obtained by the revival of an obsolete but unrepealed statute (26 Hen. VIII., c. 14), which sanctioned suffragans for certain sees, with specific titles, according to the names of towns mentioned in the act. Other overworked bishops took advantage of the statute, but their suffragans were sometimes compelled to take very inappropriate names ; as when the suffragan appointed to help the bishop of London in 1879 received the title bishop of Bedford, with which town or county he had nothing whatever to do ; but an act was passed in 1888 by which in future the monarch in council may substitute the names of more appropriate places to designate the sphere of a suffragan's work. But the multiplication of suffragan bishops, though it may relieve overtaxed diocesans, does not altogether meet the requirements of overgrown dioceses. They are an irresponsible body, without coercive jurisdiction, unable of themselves to initiate permanent reforms ; and their work may at any moment be interfered with or terminated. There are now (1897) eighteen suffragans assisting in English dioceses. There are also many retired colonial bishops who have resigned their sees for various reasons, some of whom are regularly working as assistant-bishops in certain English dioceses. At this time (1898) the total number of bishops of the Anglican communion—in Great Britain, in our colonial dependencies and missionary stations, and in the United States—exceeds 250, and is yearly increasing.

12. The Lambeth conferences.—A means has quite recently been found of binding together the various offshoots of the British Church in closer bonds of mutual affection and responsibility. In 1865 the Canadian Church, feeling no doubt its isolation and the need of friendly intercourse with the Mother-Church of England, sent a synodical request to the convocation of Canterbury; urging the then primate (Dr. Longley) to adopt such means as would enable all members of the Anglican communion "to have a share in the deliberations for her welfare, and be permitted to have a representation in one general council of her members gathered from every land." The result was,



LAMBETH PALACE IN 1867.

that after careful deliberation in convocation, letters were sent to the home, colonial, and missionary bishops, and to the bishops of the Anglican Church in the United States—144 bishops altogether; inviting them to meet at Lambeth-palace in September 1867. Seventy-six bishops accepted the invitation, and their meeting is known as the *first Lambeth conference*. The assembled prelates expressed deep sorrow at "the divided condition of the flock of Christ throughout the world;" and recorded their solemn conviction that unity would be most effectually promoted "by maintaining the faith in its purity and integrity, as taught in the holy Scriptures, held by the primitive Church, summed up in the creeds, and affirmed by the undisputed general councils; and by drawing each of us to our common Lord, by giving ourselves to

much prayer and intercession, by the cultivation of a spirit of charity, and a love of the Lord's appearing." The conference was not intended to partake of the nature of a synod, competent to enact decrees by which the Church should be bound ; but merely to discuss matters of current importance, and pass resolutions which might guide the future action of those in authority. As such a conference had never been held before there were no precedents as to procedure, consequently all was done experimentally, but the prelates were of one mind as to the necessity of issuing a formal address to members, clerical and lay, of the Anglican branch of the Church universal ; by which all were warned against papal corruptions of the true faith revealed in Scripture, exhorted to beware of causing divisions, and bidden to pray for unity.

In December 1872 the Canadian Church again asked the Canterbury convocation to unite with it in requesting the primate (Dr. Tait) to summon a second meeting. That was followed in 1873 by similar requests from the West Indian bishops, and in 1874 by the American bishops. But Archbishop Tait did not see his way to issue invitations until he had further opportunities of corresponding with the Anglican bishops throughout the world as to the expediency of a conference, and the subjects to be discussed. One hundred and seventy-three invitations were sent out in 1877, and 108 bishops accepted ; eight of whom, however, were unable to be present. On June 29, 1878, the primate welcomed the prelates from St. Augustine's marble chair in Canterbury cathedral, which had been placed on the altar-steps ; but the sessions were held in the great library of Lambeth-palace. In this *second Lambeth conference* the same rule was enforced as at the first : that the discussions should not encroach upon doctrinal matters or questions of discipline, with the view of issuing authoritative decrees ; lest it should seem that the conference claimed a power to interfere with the autonomy of colonial and American Churches. Brotherly intercourse, with mutual help and comfort, were the chief objects ; and the discussions were limited to such subjects as bore upon unity and intercommunion. As before, the conclusions arrived at, after many days of serious deliberation, were published in a letter addressed to the faithful ; in which the reports of the committees appointed to consider the different subjects were embodied. The conference of 1878 concluded with a solemn service in St. Paul's cathedral, when Bishop Stevens of Pennsylvania preached the sermon ; in which he said :—" Never before have all branches of the Anglican communion been so fully represented

in an ecclesiastical assembly. Such a gathering converges to itself the eyes of the thinking world, and such a gathering must radiate from itself a power for weal or woe that shall reach to the distant ages. We met as standard-bearers of the Cross of Christ ; and we separate to go back to our dioceses more impressed than ever, that it is in and through an uplifted Christ—faithfully held up and fully displayed—that our work can be accomplished ; and that all men—men of all races, all climes, all countries—can be brought to the feet of the Crucified, and to the Church which is His body.”

So beneficial to the welfare of the Church did these conferences prove that they are likely to recur every ten years. A still more numerously attended one was held at the same place in 1888 under the late Archbishop Benson, which will be known in history as the *third Lambeth conference*. Two hundred and nine letters of invitation were sent out, and 145 bishops responded by their presence ; who came literally “from the ends of the earth.” The methods of procedure followed the precedents established in 1867 and 1878, but were of a much more important character. The published encyclical, or letter to the faithful, shows that these conferences are likely to become a means of directing the practical work of the Church from time to time. The conclusions arrived at by the 1888 conference from the resolutions of its special committees, related to morality, social problems, administration, mutual relations, and the unity of Christendom. In grave and dignified terms the prelates rebuked the flagrant sins of intemperance and impurity which defile all nations ; upheld the sanctity and inviolability of marriage ; and asserted the sacred character of the Lord’s day (see note, p. 390). On the question of *Home Reunion*, the special committee laid down four articles as bases on which approaches might be made.



ARCHBISHOP BENSON.

“(A) The holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments, as ‘containing all things necessary to salvation,’ and as being the rule and ultimate standard of faith.

“(B) The Apostles’ creed, as the baptismal symbol ; and the Nicene creed, as the sufficient statement of the Christian faith.

“(C) The two sacraments ordained by Christ Himself—Baptism and the Supper of the Lord—ministered with unfailing use of Christ’s words of institution and of the elements ordained by Him.

“(D) The historic episcopate, locally adapted in the methods of administration to the varying needs of the nations called of God into the unity of His Church.”

The fourth Lambeth conference was held a year before its time, in the summer of 1897, under the presidency of Archbishop Temple. There were two good reasons for ante-dating the meeting, one was the national thanksgiving for the completion of Queen Victoria’s sixtieth year of rule, which brought representative people from every part of her imperial dominions ; and the other was the thirteen-hundredth anniversary of the coming of Augustine as a missionary to the English who had settled in Kent. 194 prelates attended this conference, a fact which shows how steadily our episcopate is growing throughout the world. As Englishmen were busy at the time, taking stock of the commercial progress and extension of the British empire, demands for statistics were made and quickly supplied from all directions. The Church of England could show that the home episcopate had been increased by eight diocesan and all the suffragan or coadjutor bishops during the Victorian era ; and that in the same period the colonial bishops had increased from seven to ninety-six. It is interesting to learn that the daughter Church of the United States had developed in the same sixty years from sixteen bishoprics to seventy-four. The chief recommendations in the official letter of 1897 related to foreign missions.

“While we heartily thank God for the missionary zeal which He has kindled in our communion, and for the abundant blessing bestowed on such work as has been done, we recommend that prompt and continuous efforts be made to arouse the Church to recognise as a necessary and constant element in the spiritual life of the body, and of each member of it, the fulfilment of our Lord’s great commission.”

A number of counsels were given calculated to prevent friction and waste of energy by competitive action on the part of missionaries of the Anglican communion ; and the twenty-seventh resolution may help to guide the action of clergy at home as well as abroad. It was as follows :

“In the foreign mission-field of the Church’s work, where signal spiritual blessings have attended the labours of Christian missionaries not connected with the Anglican communion, a special obligation has arisen to avoid, as far as possible, whatever tends to prevent the due growth and manifestation of that ‘unity of the Spirit’ which should ever mark the Church of Christ.”

13. Conclusion.—With such noble words we might well bring this little book to a period ; but there is one important consideration which the writer desires should be his final word. Because we rejoice at the extension of our Church's work abroad, so that the sun never sets upon her daughter Churches, it is all the more necessary that we should make up our minds not to allow the parent stem to be injured. It is mainly of the national religion in England and Wales that we have been treating ; a religion which we have inherited from the earliest times, which has been bound up with the national character, has sympathised with all its joys and sorrows, and has also reaped in return for its spiritual sowing and nurture a measure of temporal prosperity. We know full well that those who envy her goodly heritage are many and resolute ; but that knowledge should make us all the more determined to hold fast that which has been committed to our care and keeping. We must do this, not for our own sake only, but for the sake of the encouragement which we owe to our brethren beyond the seas, and to the missionaries who are bravely reducing heathen lands to the obedience of Christ our King ; and for the sake of future generations, for whom we are trustees. Twelve hundred years ago, when many petty princes were struggling for the territory now called England and Wales, the early missionaries laboured to unite the tribes from which we sprang in bonds of peace and love through the "One Lord, one faith, one baptism, one God and Father of us all." After they had succeeded, the united religious society so founded became an united state and kingdom ; since which time the religious and civil organisations have been identical, while patriotic and spiritual aspirations have gone hand-in-hand. The union was not of man's making or seeking, nor was it of sudden growth. It came about by the inspiration of the Holy Spirit, and it has been maintained by Divine favour for the supply of mutual necessities. From the union there have sprung many generations of Englishmen who have become good citizens because they were early trained in the fear and nurture of the Lord ; and through their lives and work, at home and abroad, the world has learned to respect "Christian England." If there were any fault or offence, any evidence of unfaithfulness, the realm would be within its right in claiming a divorce ; but so long as the Church is true, even though her consort may not be loyal to her, the watchword of all sons and daughters of the union must be

"QUIS SEPARABIT?"



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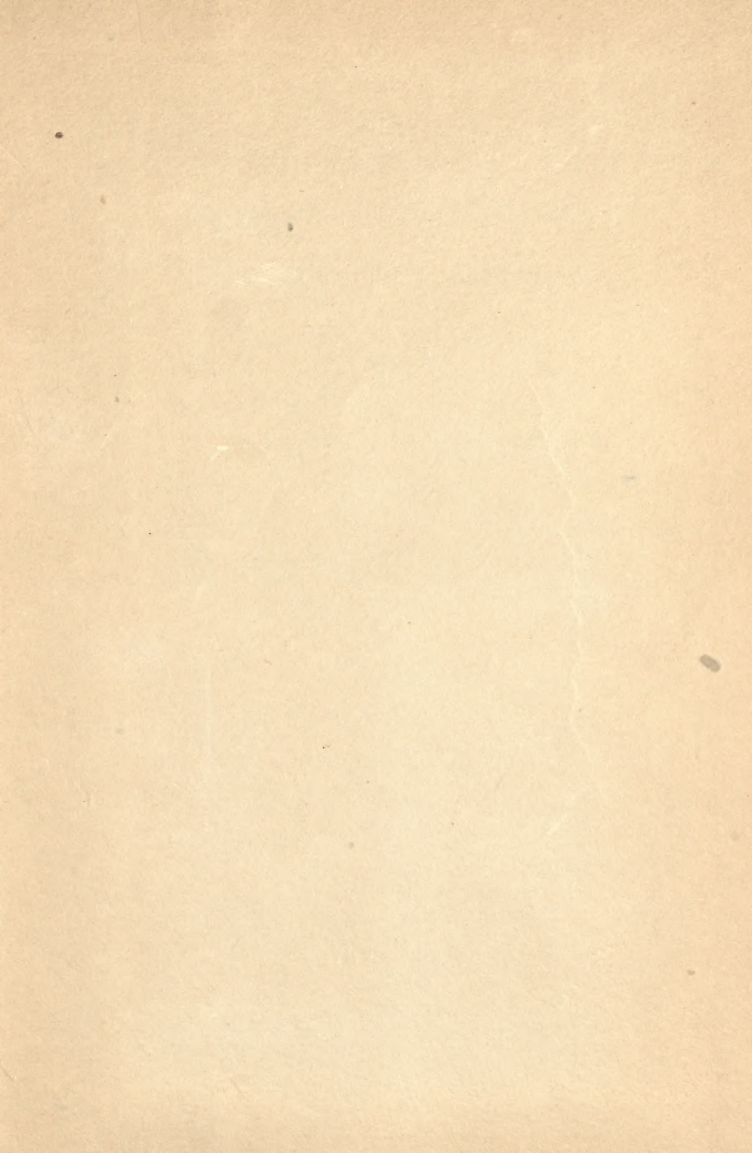
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